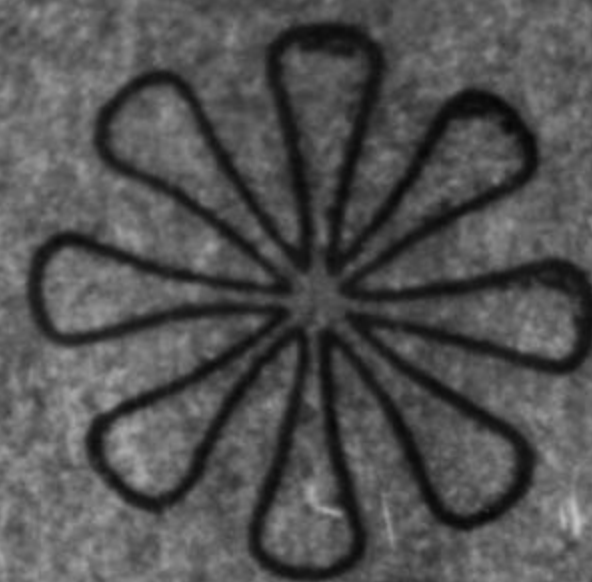


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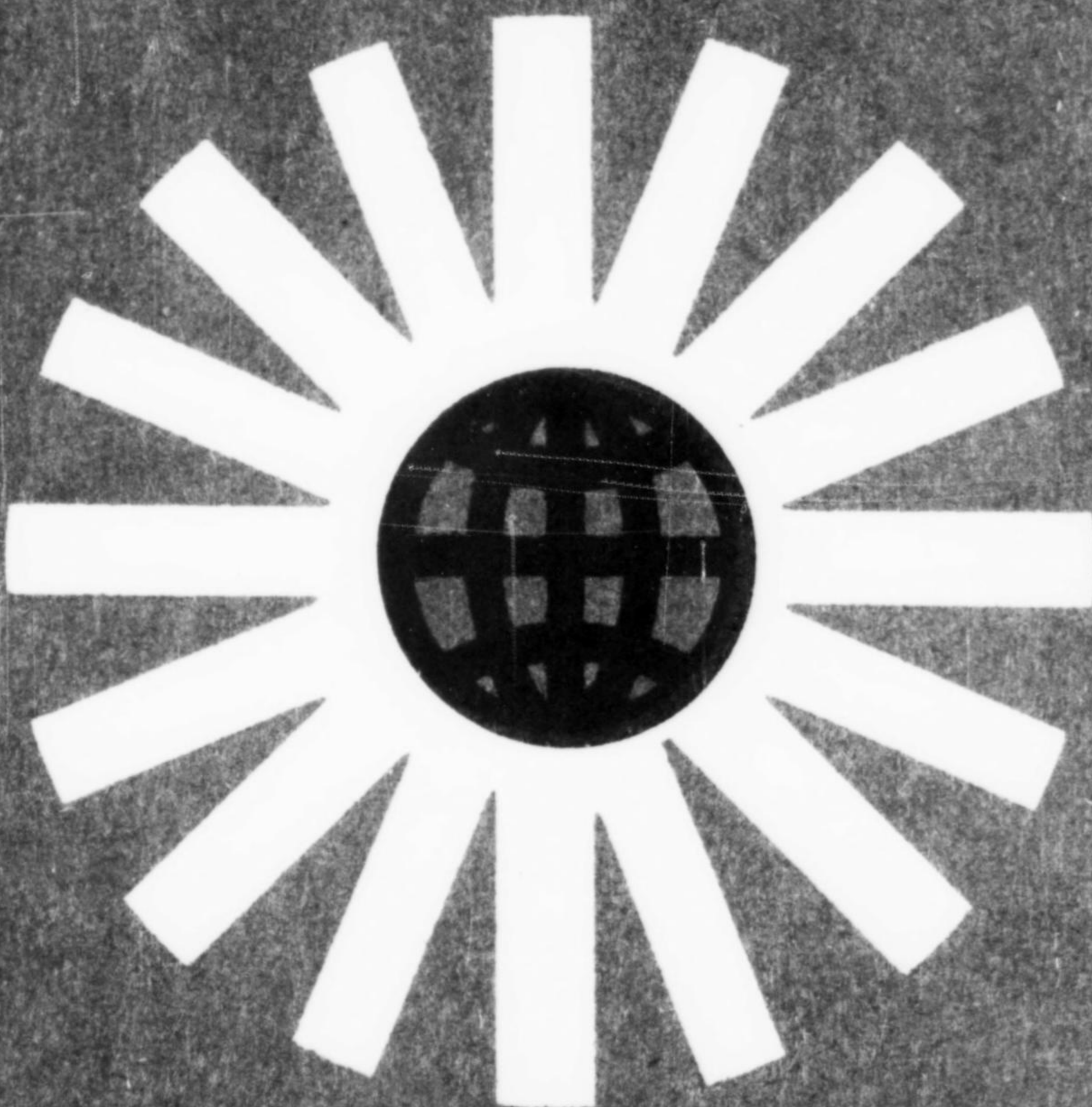
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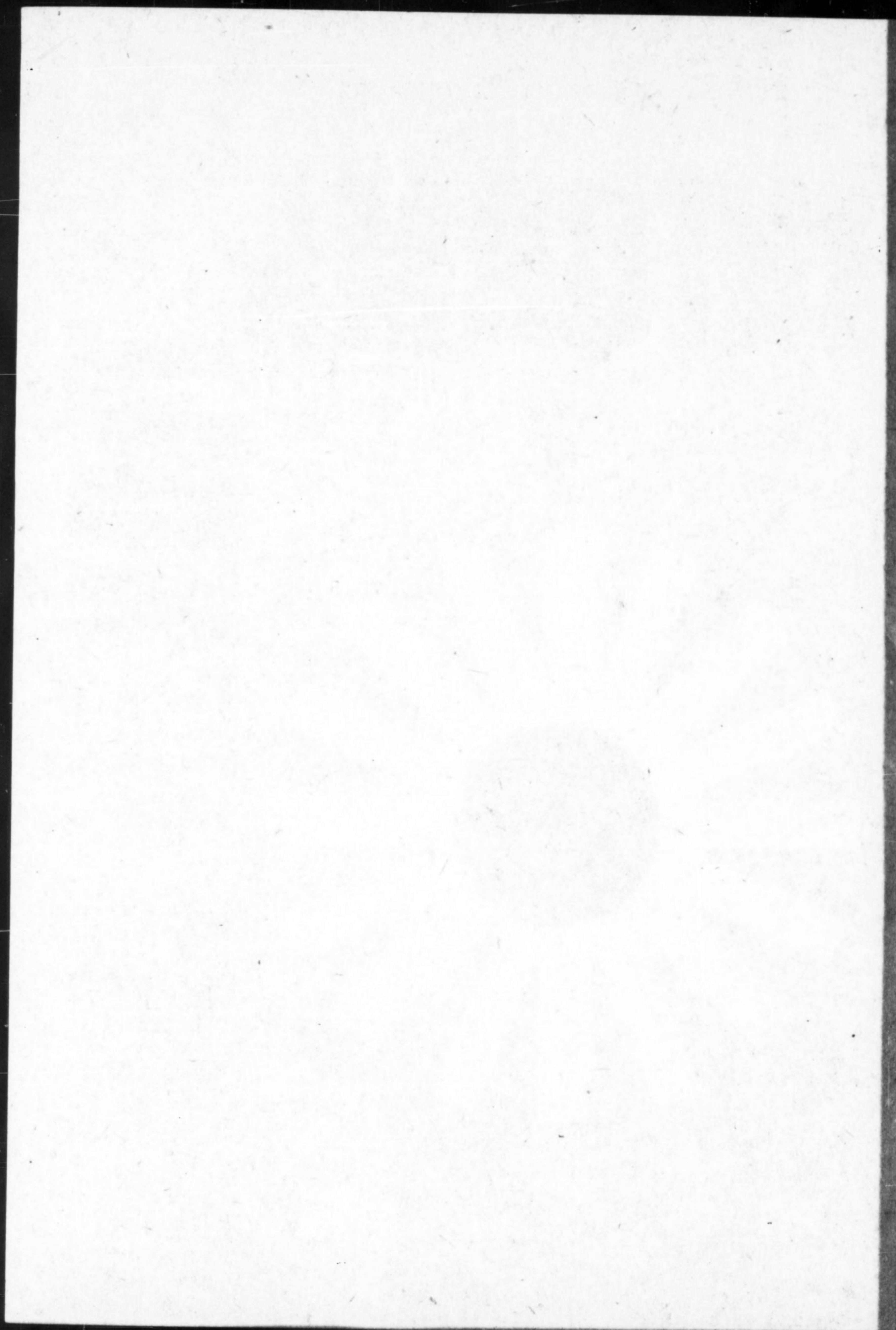
**CONFERENCE
OF EUROPEAN
COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS
PARTIES**

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**GANDHI VISIT
TO USSR**



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FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe took place in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, on June 29 and 30, 1976. Its subject was: 'For peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe.' The conference was opened by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who warmly greeted the delegations of the fraternal parties.

On the first day of the conference delegates of the following Communist and Workers' parties took the floor:

Communist Party of Finland — Aarne Saarinen, Communist Party of Austria — Franz Muhri, Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus — Christos Petas, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin — Erich Ziegler, Communist Party of the Soviet Union — Leonid Brezhnev, Communist Party of Denmark — Knud Jespersen, Rumanian Communist Party — Nicolae Ceausescu, Polish United Workers' Party — Edward Gierek, Communist Party of Spain — Santiago Carrillo, Communist Party of Ireland — Michael O'Riordan, Bulgarian Communist Party — Todor Zhivkov, Communist Party of Great Britain — Gordon McLennan, Communist Party of Turkey — Ismail Bilen, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — Gustav Husak, Communist Party of the Netherlands — Henk Hoekstra, German Communist Party — Herbert Mies, Communist Party of Belgium — Jean Terfve, Swiss Party of Labor — Jakob Lechleiter, and Communist Party of Greece — Harilaos Florakis.

The first five sittings of the first conference day were chaired by Jean Terfve, Todor Zhivkov, Knud Jespersen, Herbert Mies and Aarne Saarinen.

On the second day of the conference, delegates of the following Communist and Workers' parties took the floor:

League of Communists of Yugoslavia — Josip Broz Tito, Left Party — Communists of Sweden — Lars Werner, Socialist Unity

Party of Germany — Erich Honecker, Italian Communist Party — Enrico Berlinguer, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Dominique Urbany, Portuguese Communist Party — Alvaro Cunhal, French Communist Party — Georges Marchais, Communist Party of Norway — Martin Gunnar Knutsen, San Marino Communist Party — Ermenegildo Gasperoni, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — Janos Kadar.

The sittings were chaired by Georges Marchais, Harilaos Florakis, Gordon McLennan, and Michael O'Riordan.

In conclusion of its deliberations, the conference adopted a final document, 'For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe,' and decided to publish it.

The conference proceeded in a businesslike, comradely atmosphere.

The delegates of the Communist and Workers' parties participating in the conference expressed the conviction that achieving the goals formulated by it would meet the interests of all peoples and contribute in important measure to peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

FOR PEACE, SECURITY, COOPERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN EUROPE

A Conference of 29 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe took place in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, on 29 and 30 June 1976. Delegations from the following Parties took part in the Conference:

Communist Party of Belgium, headed by Comrade Jean Terfve, Vice-Chairman of the Party;

Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Denmark, headed by Comrade Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Party;

German Communist Party, headed by Comrade Herbert Mies, Chairman of the Party;

Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Finland, headed by Comrade Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Party;

French Communist Party, headed by Comrade Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the Party;

Communist Party of Greece, headed by Comrade *Harilaos Florakis*, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by Comrade *Gordon McLennan*, General Secretary of the Party;

Communist Party of Ireland, headed by Comrade *Michael O'Riordan*, General Secretary of the Party;

Italian Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Enrico Berlinguer*, General Secretary of the Party;

League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by Comrade *Josip Broz Tito*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of Luxembourg, headed by Comrade *Dominique Urbany*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of the Netherlands, headed by Comrade *Henk Hoekstra*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of Norway, headed by Comrade *Martin Gunnar Knutsen*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of Austria, headed by Comrade *Franz Muhri*, Chairman of the Party;

Polish United Workers' Party, headed by Comrade *Edward Gierek*, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Portuguese Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Alvaro Cunhal*, General Secretary of the Party;

Rumanian Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Nicolae Ceausescu*, General Secretary of the Party;

San Marino Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Ermenegildo Gasperoni*, Chairman of the Party;

Left Party — Communists of Sweden, headed by Comrade *Lars Werner*, Chairman of the Party;

Swiss Party of Labor, headed by Comrade *Jakob Lechleiter*, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade *Leonid I. Brezhnev*, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Spain, headed by Comrade *Santiago Carrillo*, General Secretary of the Party;

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Comrade *Gustav Husak*, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Turkey, headed by Comrade *Ismail Bilen*, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Comrade *Janos Kadar*, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, headed by Comrade *Erich Ziegler*, Deputy Chairman of the Party;

Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), headed by Comrade *Christos Petas*, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee.

The representatives of these Parties exchanged their views on a limited range of questions relating to the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe. Each of the participating Parties is willing to help achieve these aims.

The participants in the Conference emphasize that their Parties, on the basis of a political line worked out and adopted by every Party in complete independence in accordance with the socio-economic and political conditions and the specific national features prevailing in the country concerned, are firmly resolved to continue waging a consistent struggle in order to achieve the objectives of peace, democracy and social progress, which is in line with the general interests of the working class, the democratic forces and the mass of the people in all countries.

They state with all clarity that the policy of peaceful coexistence, active cooperation between states irrespective of their social systems, and international détente correspond both to the interests of each people as well as to the cause of progress for the whole of mankind and in no way mean the maintenance of the political and social status quo in the various countries, but on the contrary create optimum conditions for the development of the struggle of the working class and all democratic forces as well as for the implementation of the inalienable right of each and every people freely to choose and follow its own course of development for the struggle against the rule of monopolies, and for socialism.

The participants in the Conference note that essential positive changes have taken place in the international situation which are the result of the shift in the balance of forces in favor of the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation, independence and socialism, and the result of the intensified struggle by the mass of the people and broad political and social forces. This has led to the process of transition from a policy of tension and confrontation to the implementation of the course toward détente and the normalization and all-round development of new relations and cooperation between states and peoples.

On this basis a new situation has also emerged in Europe. Important problems which poisoned the international atmosphere, including

some outstanding since World War II, have been resolved through negotiations; numerous treaties, agreements, declarations and other accords have been concluded between states in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. All this has created conditions for the development of new relations and cooperation between states, for overcoming the division of the continent into opposing military blocs, and for disarmament.

The very fact that the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was held reflects with maximum clarity the changes that have taken place on our continent since the peoples won victory in the war against fascism and had shown their determination to live under conditions of peace and security and to cooperate with one another and to build their future in accordance with their legitimate aspirations. The Conference, which is of historic importance, worked out and fixed the principles of friendly relations and cooperation between states: sovereign equality; respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; refraining from the threat or use of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; cooperation among states; fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe confirmed the possibility for and concrete benefits of dealing with, and solving, the most complex of international problems through the participation of all interested countries on the basis of their full equality. It has opened up new prospects for the further consolidation of peace and security, for the fruitful development of relations and of cooperation between all European countries. This will have positive consequences for all peoples of the world.

The effectiveness of the agreements reached in Helsinki depends, to a decisive extent, on how consistently and strictly all participating states observe the ten principles which they agreed upon, and implement all provisions of the Final Act, which form a coherent whole. It will become greater the more consistently the participating states continue in their efforts to build up European security and to develop their cooperation on an equal footing in the spirit of the agreements concluded at the Conference. These are indispensable prerequisites for détente to become a continuous process which is always increasing in vitality and scope. As experience up to now has shown,

this requires new active efforts by the Communist and Workers' Parties, by all democratic and peace-loving forces, by public opinion at large and by the mass of the people on our continent.

The democratic and anti-fascist struggle of the working class and of the mass of the people has reached a new level in Western Europe today. The fascist regime in Portugal has been overthrown. A struggle for far-reaching democratic and social changes is taking place in that country. In Greece, the fascist dictatorship has collapsed. In Spain the monarchy, heir to the last bastion of fascism in Europe, is trying to continue Franco-ism against mounting and unified opposition from all anti-fascist and democratic forces. All over the capitalist-dominated part of Europe the movement of the working people and progressive forces seeking to bring about democratic changes in all fields of economic, social and political life has increased in scope.

The participants in the Conference welcome the historic victory of the Vietnamese people and the victories of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia over the imperialist aggressors and domestic reaction. These victories are of worldwide significance; they prove that there are no forces capable of breaking the determination of peoples to fight for freedom and independence.

The ending of the Portuguese colonial war and the achievement of national independence by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome, the Cape Verde Islands and Angola, which brings nearer the overthrow of the racist regimes in southern Africa, and also the struggle of all the other liberation movements for the complete liquidation of colonialism represent a major contribution to the cause of peace and security.

The failure of the imperialist blockade against Cuba, the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the normalization of relations with the GDR by a large number of countries have gone a long way toward strengthening international security and reinforcing socialism's position.

All this is the result of decades of struggle by all anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces.

Because of their development, their continuous economic growth resulting from the nature of socialist society, which serves the interests of the mass of working people, and because of their foreign policy which is directed toward gaining acceptance for the principles of peaceful coexistence and is exerting an ever greater influence on international relations, the socialist countries are playing an outstand-

ing role in preventing a new world war, in strengthening international security and in continuing the process of détente.

The peoples who have achieved freedom and independence have become an influential international force. The movement of non-aligned countries, which includes the majority of developing countries, is now one of the most important factors in world politics. It renders an active contribution to the fight for peace, security, détente and equal cooperation, for the establishment of a just system of international political and economic relations, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of domination and exploitation.

In the capitalist countries, there is a growth in the activities of the working class and other broad social and political forces which advocate peace and cooperation among peoples and which constitute an important factor in the struggle for strengthening détente.

In these countries, the struggle of the working class — the main force in social development and which represents the interests of the whole mass of working people, the interests of social progress and overall national interests — and the struggle of the other democratic and anti-monoplist forces are developing with increasing strength. These struggles are directed against the foundations of rule by monopoly capital. Ever broader sections of society are realizing the historical necessity of replacing capitalist society by socialist society, which will be built up in accordance with the desires of each people.

In the neutral states there are growing efforts by the mass of the people to make more effective use of the opportunities provided by the status of neutrality so as to serve the interests of peace and the strengthening of security on our continent.

The struggle of all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and progressive forces has helped and helps to improve the political climate in the world and in Europe.

All these factors are of decisive importance for the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and for the development of active cooperation between all countries as the sole alternative to nuclear world war.

All this opens up new prospects for the successful struggle of the peoples for the further transformation of international relations in Europe in the spirit of détente, and for democracy and progress. All this helps to give socialist ideas a greater impact on social development.

The participants in the Conference appreciate the advances which

have been made in the sphere of détente. At the same time, they stress that world peace is by no means guaranteed as yet, that détente has not yet been stabilized and that serious obstacles still have to be surmounted on the road leading toward lasting security and cooperation.

The concentration on the European continent of extraordinarily strong military forces with the most dangerous destructive capacities at their disposal, the intensified continuation of the arms race, the build-up of ever larger stockpiles of weapons, including weapons of mass destruction, the maintenance of foreign military bases and foreign armed forces on the territory of other states, and imperialist pressure and interference in internal affairs represent a direct source of danger for peace, security and cooperation between states and are obstacles in the way of the realization of the aspirations of the European peoples to achieve independence and progress.

The policies of imperialism and neo-colonialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation remain the main danger to peace and to the independence and equality of the peoples. At the same time, unequal economic development and inequitable economic and political relations represent a source of tension and conflict, and a serious obstacle in the way of independence and social progress.

The position of imperialism, which has not changed its nature, has been weakened as a consequence of the changes in the balance of forces. This finds its expression in the fact that it is neither capable of reversing the historic achievements of socialism nor of halting the advance of the progressive forces and of the movement for the liberation and independence of the peoples.

The difficulties imperialism is going through are the result of the further aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system which affects all spheres of capitalist society — economic, social, moral and political — and manifests itself in various forms and dimensions in different countries. Such characteristic features of the current serious crisis as chronic inflation, the crisis of the monetary system, the fact that productive capacities are increasingly underused, and the unemployment of millions of working people are making themselves felt with particular intensity. Everywhere the crisis entails serious consequences for the working and living conditions of the working class, peasants and farmers, and the middle strata, hitting young people, women and foreign workers especially severely. It is accompanied by manifestations of moral decay and by upheavals which testify to its political nature.

The crisis leads to profound contradictions in international political and economic relations. It is also manifest in serious trade conflicts, in merciless competition between the monopoly groups of various countries, including those of the EEC countries, and in the contradictions between the capitalist monopolies and the developing countries.

All this proves that the economic and social structure of capitalist society is becoming more and more inconsistent with the needs of the working and popular masses and with the requirements of social progress and of democratic political development.

The working class and all working people in the capitalist-dominated part of Europe are struggling for a democratic way out of the crisis which would correspond to the interests of the broad mass of the people and open up the way for a socialist transformation of society.

The reactionary quarters of big business are attempting to find a way out of the present situation by curtailing the democratic and social rights of the mass of the people and by shifting the burden of the crisis onto them. Furthermore, these forces are striving to obstruct the policy of détente and active cooperation, to undermine the results of the Helsinki Conference and to re-create an atmosphere of tension and confrontation in relations between states. There are still certain forces who are bent on a return to cold-war politics, which led to the division of the continent into opposing blocs. Communist Parties and other democratic and peace-loving forces have fought against and continue to fight against these policies.

The arms race must be ended and a process of reducing armaments and armed forces must be initiated. The growing arms expenditure bears down more and more heavily on the working people and the mass of the people. If these huge resources were spent on raising the living standards of the peoples, on overcoming economic backwardness, on aid and support for the developing countries and on environmental protection, this would immensely benefit the advance of all mankind.

The socialist, the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties, the progressive and democratic forces of Europe are all fighting for these aims. It is of urgent and vital concern to all peoples on our continent to overcome the resistance of reactionary quarters in the NATO countries and of other conservative forces which oppose these aims.

As the Parties participating in the Conference stand for the overcoming of the division of Europe into blocs and for a policy of

disarmament, they speak out against any steps inconsistent with this objective.

There is a close interrelationship between the struggle for peace, détente, security and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for strengthening mutual trust between the peoples and states, and the struggle for new economic and political achievements for the working people and for social progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference consider that these objectives can be achieved all the more rapidly the more effective the efforts become to thwart any and every tendency of a reactionary and authoritarian nature, to end the arms race, to bring about disarmament and to curb and overcome the power of the monopolies in the lives of individual countries and on the international scene.

They consider the fight for détente to be an important contribution to the creation of international conditions favoring social progress. They are of the opinion that the ever more comprehensive implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, especially — concerning Europe — of the principles contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, creates favorable conditions for the full independence and the self-determined development of countries and promotes the struggle of the peoples for economic and social progress. It creates more favorable conditions of struggle for the movements for democratic and socialist transformation in the capitalist countries. It creates more favorable conditions for carrying out the programs for the economic, social and political development of the socialist countries and the ever more comprehensive realization of the potentialities of socialism.

The aspiration of the peoples for justice and peace is growing as a result of all these factors. At the same time, the ideals of socialism are gaining an ever greater place in the consciousness of ever broader masses.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the European countries, together with the other democratic and peace-loving forces, have played a decisive role in the political actions which made possible a turn toward détente and the strengthening of security and toward cooperation in Europe. The Parties participating in the Conference will continue to work actively for a Europe of peace, cooperation and social progress.

In this spirit, they will develop their internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of

Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each Party, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for socialism. The struggle of each Party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility toward the working class and the people of that country are bound up with mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are aware that a Europe of peace and progress can only be the result of many-sided efforts, and the outcome of rapprochement, understanding and cooperation among the broadest political and social forces.

They consider dialogue and cooperation between Communists and all other democratic and peace-loving forces as necessary. In this, they base themselves on what they all have in common and stand for the removal of mistrust and prejudices which may hamper their cooperation.

They consider it their duty to direct the attention of all popular forces to the damage done by aggressive anti-communism to the development of the movement for peace and progress. The Communist Parties do not consider all those who are not in agreement with their policies or who hold a critical attitude toward their activity as being anti-communist. Anti-communism is and remains an instrument which imperialist and reactionary forces use not only against Communists but also against other democrats and against the Communist Parties, the socialist countries, beginning with the Soviet Union, against the forces of socialism and progress, campaigns which aim to discredit the policy and the ideals of Communists among the mass of the people and to prevent unity within the working-class movement and cooperation among the democratic and popular forces. It is in the interests of the aspiration of the popular forces for progress and for democratic development to isolate and overcome anti-communism. The Communist and Workers' Parties will act in such a way that their policies and the ideals of justice and progress, whose champions they are, become ever more a force promoting the broadest unity of the working people and of the mass of the people.

The participants in the Conference welcome the successes achieved in a number of countries and at international levels in developing cooperation between Communist and socialist or social-

democratic parties. They consider that the basic interests of the working class and of all working people require the overcoming of the obstacles which stand in the way of cooperation and which complicate the struggle of the mass of working people against monopoly capital and against the reactionary and conservative forces.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference reaffirm their rejection of any policy or ideology which in essence means the subjection of the working class to the system of capitalism. They underline their determination to work consistently for the strengthening of their Parties and for the extension of their ties with the working class and all working people. At the same time, they stress once again their readiness to contribute toward cooperation, on the basis of equality, with all democratic forces and in particular with the socialist and social-democratic parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress for society.

The fight waged by the Communist Parties and other democratic forces in the capitalist countries on our continent for the removal of all vestiges of fascist regimes, for the development of democracy, for peace, and against the ever growing threat which the operations of the international monopolies and the multinational corporations pose to the sovereignty and independence of each and every country, is of great importance for the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference stress that the working people have common interests and that united action by them plays a decisive role in the effective defense of their rights. They therefore consider it important that all working people, irrespective of their political and religious beliefs, unite their efforts in the struggle for their vital interests.

The influence of the working class is growing through the unification of efforts by its trade union organizations both at national and international levels. Communists will continue in every respect to support the drive for unity which is growing in the trade union organizations and their independent activities.

Ever broader Catholic forces, members of other Christian communities and adherents to other faiths play an important role in the struggle for the rights of the working people and for democracy and peace. The Communist and Workers' Parties recognize the necessity of dialogue and joint action with these forces, which is an inseparable part of the struggle for the development of Europe in a spirit of democracy and in the direction of social progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference address themselves to women, whose role in professional life, in everyday social and political struggles is growing, calling upon them to increase their contribution to the common cause of all forces of peace and social progress as a necessary prerequisite for the achievement of genuine equality and liberation for women.

The participants in the Conference support the efforts of young people, in whose hands lies the future of our continent, to take part with growing strength in the struggle for a Europe of peace, progress and freedom which marches forward to a socialist future.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference turn to manual and clerical workers, to peasants and farmers, the middle strata, to members of scientific and technological professions and cultural workers, to all political parties, mass organizations and associations, to all people interested in progress and a peaceful future for Europe and call upon them to work actively for the following objectives:

**1. FOR STRENGTHENING THE PROCESS OF
DETENTE BY TAKING EFFECTIVE MEASURES
TOWARD DISARMAMENT AND TOWARD
STRENGTHENING SECURITY IN EUROPE**

The participants in the Conference call for the strict observance and full implementation of the principles and accords which are contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of all treaties and agreements serving the cause of peace and security.

So as to guarantee the durability of détente and to strengthen and extend it further, the decisions adopted in Helsinki must be supported and sustained by the struggle of the mass of the people to implement them fully and completely, to curb and push back the reactionary forces, who reject the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and who seek to thwart the course toward détente and security for the peoples.

The participants in the Conference advocate active campaigning by the mass of the people and all peace-loving forces, inter alia through demonstrations of solidarity, in order resolutely to repel all attempts at interference in the internal affairs of any country and to challenge any act encroaching upon the inalienable right of each and every people to determine its own future freely and in sovereignty.

In order to strengthen and deepen détente, it is imperative to take

concrete measures for disarmament and for ensuring effective security in Europe through efforts by all countries with a view to overcoming the division of the continent into military blocs. Europe can and must become an example of practical implementation of measures for military détente.

Mass action by the working class, the working people and by all peoples on our continent are of decisive importance for the achievement of these goals.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe emphatically call for energetic efforts to achieve:

- an end to the arms race in all forms, particularly nuclear armament;

- the speeding up of negotiations on questions of disarmament in the framework of the United Nations and the implementation of effective measures designed to achieve general and complete disarmament under strict international control;

- the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops and armaments from foreign territory and the disbandment of these troops;

- a systematic reduction of the military budgets of all states, primarily of those which possess nuclear weapons and of other states with a large military potential.

It is urgently necessary to remove the danger of nuclear war, the unleashing of which would be the greatest crime against humanity.

This requires:

- the undertaking by all states to renounce the use of, or the threat to use, nuclear weapons and, more generally, to renounce the use or threat of force in international relations under any circumstances whatsoever;

- ending the nuclear arms race including means of delivery of nuclear weapons, and banning all nuclear weapon tests in all media;

- taking effective measures for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territory of other states and preventing the proliferation of such weapons; and establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones as steps toward general and complete disarmament;

- reducing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, prohibiting and ending the production of all kinds of nuclear weapons and destroying them.

It is necessary that all states which so desire be given the opportunity to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, on the basis of equality and without any discrimination.

It is necessary to continue to press for:

- the ratification by all states of the convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons;

- the conclusion at the earliest possible date of a treaty on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and other means of mass annihilation, as well as of a convention on the prohibition of the use of environmental and climatic modification techniques for military purposes;

- the prohibition of the development and production of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

- measures designed to prevent an accidental occurrence of armed incidents and their escalation into international crises;

- the renunciation of any show of strength directed against any other state or people.

The participants in the Conference advocate the holding of inter-governmental meetings and conferences on problems of disarmament, with provision being made for the equal participation of all states in such conferences or meetings. They hold it desirable to make more comprehensive use of the opportunities provided by the United Nations for these aims.

They advocate the transformation of various regions in Europe and the world into zones of peace and cooperation without foreign troops and military bases.

Considering the close interrelationship between all-European security and the safeguarding of security in the Mediterranean area, the Parties participating in the Conference speak out against the further stockpiling of weapons in this area, for the withdrawal of nuclear-armed vessels from the Mediterranean, for the dismantling of all foreign military bases and, in the process of overcoming the division of Europe into military blocs, for the withdrawal of all foreign naval fleets and troops, which will serve to transform the Mediterranean into a sea of peace.

They call for:

- the strict observance of all treaties and agreements which are designed to limit and end the arms race;

- the reduction of armed forces and armaments, chiefly in regions in which military confrontation is particularly dangerous, but also in other areas of the continent, by concluding such agreements, involving all the states interested, as do not prejudice the security of any of the countries;

— the prevention of the creation of new military blocs or military groupings.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe will come out resolutely against any action directed at intensifying the arms race and stepping up military confrontation.

In the solution of problems of disarmament and security, which are of vital interest to all states and peoples of the world, the security interests of all countries and the equal participation of all states must be guaranteed.

Convinced that overcoming the division of Europe into blocs constitutes an essential contribution to the attainment of lasting security and peace on our continent and in the whole of the world, the participants in the Conference advocate the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization and, as a first step, of their military organizations. They stand for concrete measures leading to this goal.

The participants in the Conference consider it urgently necessary that propaganda for wars of aggression or for the use or threat of force in any form should be ended and prohibited.

Moreover, it is necessary to inform the public at large and all peoples extensively and regularly about the course of negotiations and about measures undertaken toward ending the arms race and toward disarmament.

2. FOR EXTIRPATING FASCISM, DEFENDING DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

A new situation has come about in Spain. A powerful and united struggle which is developing more and more openly in the country heralds the imminent end of the last fascist regime existing in Europe.

The monarchy at present ruling Spain continues with Francoism, refuses to grant amnesty to political prisoners and to recognize trade union and political rights and takes repressive measures against those forces which ever more energetically express their determination to bring about a complete and genuine democratization of their country. The participants in the Conference call for an immediate end to repression as well as for an amnesty for all political prisoners and all emigres.

They reject any attempt at continuing the policy of Francoism in whatever form and call on the democratic and progressive forces in Europe to step up their active and concrete solidarity with all anti-fascist forces in Spain in their struggle for democracy and freedom. A

democratic Spain, freed once and for all from all vestiges of fascism, is a vital necessity for security and progress in Europe.

The Communist and Workers' Parties express their solidarity with the Spanish Communists and welcome the process of growing unity of the democratic opposition and of the anti-fascist and democratic movement in Spain. Unity and joint action of these forces represent the basic precondition for the struggles of the mass of the people to lead to the establishment of a free and democratic Spain in the near future.

The participants in the Conference welcome the progressive development taking place in the new Portugal, which was liberated from fascism on 25 April 1974. They support every step toward unity in action among the Communists, the Socialists, the Armed Forces Movement, indeed all democratic forces, who have set themselves the aim of building up a democratic, independent and socialist-oriented Portugal as it is now enshrined in the Constitution. They express their solidarity with the Communists and all democrats in Portugal who are defending freedom and progress in the teeth of the danger emanating from the reactionaries and fascists, and they come out strongly against any foreign interference in the affairs of the Portuguese people.

The participants in the Conference express their solidarity with the people of Cyprus. They call for the implementation, without further delay, of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus which provide for the respect of the independence and sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the immediate return of all refugees to their homes under conditions of safety and for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem by meaningful and constructive negotiations between the two Cypriot communities under the auspices of the United Nations, to be conducted freely on an equal footing for a settlement, serving the interests of the two communities of Cyprus, Greeks and Turks.

The participants in the Conference express their solidarity with the struggle waged by the Communists and all democratic forces of Greece since the overthrow of the dictatorship for the consistent democratic development and regeneration of the country and for the defense of its national independence.

The participants in the Conference express their solidarity with the just struggle of the democratic forces of Northern Ireland for guaranteeing and implementing civil and democratic rights.

The participants in the Conference emphatically demand the legalization of the Communist Party of Turkey and express their solidarity with the democratic forces of that country.

The participants in the Conference are opposed to any discrimination against and persecution of Communists and other progressive forces, and to anti-democratic legislation barring Communists and other democrats from certain types of employment in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For democracy and social progress, for the maintenance of peace and international relations of mutual trust and friendly cooperation it is necessary to eradicate fascism, prevent its rebirth, either in open or disguised forms, and fight against the formation and activities of fascist and neo-fascist terror organizations and groups as well as racist propaganda and activities which have the object of dividing the working class and other progressive forces. With this in mind, any attempt at applying pressure from without and at interference, no matter where and in whatever form, must be repulsed. Today it is more necessary than ever to step up the struggle for the defense and development of democratic rights in order to halt the increasing tendency of monopoly capital to resort to repressive and authoritarian methods of rule which are a danger to the achievements of the European peoples and their advance on the road of peace and social progress.

The participants in the Conference call for the stepping up of mass campaigns in support of the struggle of the peoples for democracy, national independence and social progress.

3. FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION, FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES

The participants in the Conference consider that the development of cooperation involving the most diverse fields of human endeavor serves to strengthen peace and security of the peoples, and to enrich the human personality in the spirit of the ideals of peace, democracy and humanism. A prerequisite and indispensable condition for this is respect for the right of the people of each country to choose and develop its political, economic, social and legal system independently and without outside interference, and to protect and multiply its historical and cultural heritage.

The participants in the Conference call especially on the working

class, on peasants and farmers, on intellectuals and professional people, on all working people to make this cooperation more democratic in content and to see that their organizations play an active and energetic part in this cooperation.

The participants in the Conference therefore call for action:

- to develop and expand cooperation among states on an all-European basis in keeping with the principles and accords contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference;

- to develop economic cooperation between all European states, irrespective of their economic and social systems, on the basis of equality, respect for the national sovereignty of each and every state and mutual benefit, which presupposes application of the principle of most-favored-nation treatment and an end to discriminatory practices and restrictions standing in the way of the development of all-European trade. This would be fully in conformity with the interests of the working people's struggle against the consequences of the crisis as well as the interests of the economic development of the countries of Europe;

- to develop cooperation in the spheres of culture, science and technology, education, information and of human contacts among all peoples for the purpose of better mutual acquaintanceship, the strengthening of trust, further rapprochement of the European countries and peoples as well as the spiritual enrichment of human life while fully respecting the equality of rights of each people and every individual, and while observing the sovereignty of each country and the principle of non-interference in its internal affairs;

- to secure the ratification and strict observance by all European states of the international covenants on human rights elaborated by the United Nations. This is in the interests of the struggle of the working class and all working people for genuine social and political rights, such as the right to work, to an education, to housing, to the requisite social services, to adequate support when old, ill or disabled, for the accomplishment of equality for women and for the genuine participation of working people in social and public decision-making;

- to guarantee for migrant workers the same working conditions and wage levels as the workers of the host country enjoy. The social, cultural and political rights of migrant workers and those of their families should be based on principles of equality with the citizens of the country of employment. Maintenance of their civic rights in their home countries should be guaranteed;

— to ensure the strict and full implementation by all states of the principles relating to national minorities in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference;

— to intensify, and extend solidarity and support to, the struggle against the policies of multinational monopolies, which have a negative effect on the working and living conditions of the working people and flagrantly violate the national interests of peoples and the sovereignty of states;

— to promote town-twinning, contacts between factory and office staffs and between scientific and cultural institutions, to extend the exchange of educational visits by delegations of various organizations and associations, and to encourage tourism;

— to ensure that mass media everywhere will, on the basis of objective information, be placed in the service of mutual acquaintanceship, the dissemination of ideas for a better understanding and the strengthening of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation among peoples;

— to expand the exchange of cultural property and art treasures, which serves the realization of the ideals of justice, freedom, fraternity and friendship among the peoples. The participants in the Conference call upon scientific and cultural workers and artists to broaden cooperation in this field.

4. FOR PEACE, SECURITY, COOPERATION, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE WHOLE OF THE WORLD

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference are convinced that the struggle for a Europe of peace, cooperation and social progress is an important contribution to the solution of the political, economic and social problems facing the world at large, which calls for the participation of all countries on equal terms. The positive changes on this continent are providing favorable conditions for peoples' liberation struggles, the struggle against the danger of war, for détente in other parts of the world, and for the struggle of the peoples against neo-colonialism and against all forms of national oppression. The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe underline the great importance of the obligation undertaken by the countries which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to develop their relations with all countries in the spirit of the principles agreed upon in Helsinki.

At the same time the struggle waged by the peoples of newly

independent countries against imperialism and any forms of domination and exploitation, and for the establishment of a new international economic order meeting the interests of the peoples is of great importance for the transformation of the world along progressive lines and a powerful support in the struggle of the European peoples for peace, security, cooperation and social progress.

The participants in the Conference stand for:

- the elimination of the hotbeds of war through negotiation and the strict fulfillment of agreements reached, especially for a just overall settlement of the Middle East conflict guaranteeing the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territory occupied since 1967 and the national independence, security and territorial integrity of all states in this area and ensuring the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to their own national state; they are opposed to any outside interference in the affairs of the peoples in the Middle East;

- continued support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their endeavors to repair the damage suffered by them in the war of aggression, and in their struggle for the peaceful and democratic development of their countries;

- support for the government and people of the People's Republic of Angola and their efforts aimed at the consolidation of their national independence and at their development along the road of progress;

- the release of all Chilean patriots and democrats imprisoned by the fascist junta, for greater international campaigns of solidarity in support of the Chilean people's struggle for the restoration of human rights and democratic freedoms in Chile; an immediate end to the acts of terror and reprisal being perpetuated against Communists and other democrats in Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala and a number of other Latin American countries;

- all-round support for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle for the peaceful and democratic unification of the country without any outside interference;

- support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples, the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, for all those who are fighting against colonialism and racism and who are victims of aggression;

- strict compliance with the trade embargoes imposed on racist regimes under UN resolutions, severance of relations with the government of the Republic of South Africa by all states, and, most important, a complete stop to all arms supplies to that government.

The democratization of international relations and the development of international cooperation on the basis of equality and of mutual benefit to all peoples are aims of great importance in the struggle for the establishment of an international community free from imperialism and neo-colonialism wherein the great disproportions between developed and developing countries can be overcome, and which will be based on the full independence of each and every nation and on their active participation in the solution of mankind's problems.

Broad international cooperation becomes ever more necessary for safeguarding peace, achieving a just settlement of international conflicts, strengthening security and implementing practical steps toward disarmament. This cooperation is necessary to further the establishment of new and equitable international economic relations. Such cooperation would also contribute to solving such complicated and fundamental problems as hunger in the world, illiteracy, environmental protection, pollution of the atmosphere and the seas, and those involved in developing and utilizing new sources of energy, averting natural calamities, and preventing and curing the most harmful diseases.

This calls for the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism; the establishment of a new international economic order; the ensuring of conditions for the social and economic development of all countries, primarily the least developed countries; the organization of broad international cooperation which should assist the peoples in the developing countries in their own efforts to remove the gap between these and the developed countries; the unrestricted exercise by each people of the right to sovereign control over its national resources; access by all countries to the achievements of modern science and technology; the establishment of a just relationship between prices for raw materials and agricultural products and prices for manufactured goods; and a broad development of trade relations without any artificial barriers and discriminatory practices. The European countries have a very significant contribution to make to these objectives.

The socialist countries, the movement of non-aligned countries, the revolutionary and progressive forces in the developing countries and the working-class and democratic movements are fighting for the establishment of new international political and economic relations on the basis of justice and equality. Ever wider political and economic circles in the capitalist countries are also contributing to the realization of this demand of our time. Such relations serve the cause of peace, détente and social progress throughout the world and meet

fully the interests of the working class and the mass of the people in Europe.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference attach great importance to the role played by the United Nations in settling international problems with equal participation by all states, in developing cooperation and understanding between states, in strengthening security and in guaranteeing lasting peace all over the world.

The participants in the Conference call on the working people and all democratic and peace-loving forces in Europe to make renewed efforts and organize new campaigns for strengthening solidarity with all peoples of the world in the struggle for their freedom and independence. This is becoming the most important factor for the strengthening of their social and national equality and is at the same time an important contribution to the cause of peace, security and social progress the world over.

The participants in the Conference are of the opinion that the attainment of the aims advocated by them would constitute an important advance along the road leading to the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace, security, cooperation and social progress. They underline their determination to turn to account the possibilities brought about by détente for achieving tangible results which meet the class interests of the working people as well as the national interests of each and every people and the interests of progress for all humanity.

The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Conference advocate constructive dialogue with all other democratic forces, each of these forces fully retaining its identity and independence, so as to arrive at fruitful cooperation in the struggle for peace, security and social progress. They call on the working class, on peasants and farmers, on the middle strata, on the representatives of science and culture, on women, on young people, on all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces and parties, and on the democratic mass organizations to step up their efforts in the interests of a peaceful future and the flourishing of all nations and peoples on our continent.

More than three decades have passed since the great victory over fascism. By transforming Europe into a continent of lasting peace we shall pay the highest tribute to all those who fought and laid down their lives for this victory. The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Berlin Conference are convinced that the attain-

ment of the great objectives defined at their meeting is in the best interests of all peoples and will be a major contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism all over the world.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV, HEAD OF THE CPSU DELEGATION

Dear comrades,

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends warm greetings to the participants in this Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. We convey to you the feelings of fraternal friendship and militant solidarity of the 15 and a half million Soviet Communists. We also express our heartfelt gratitude to the comrades from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and personally to Comrade Honecker for their concern and for the splendid organization of our Conference.

In this hall there are leaders of 29 European Communist parties. Gathered here are men and women who have devoted their lives to the struggle for the rights of the working people, for a new and just social order, for truly lasting peace among nations. Our parties are operating under different conditions and working on different tasks, suiting their tactics and strategy to the specific situation in their respective countries. But all of us are participants in a common struggle, are moving in one and the same direction and are united by a common lofty end goal. For that reason it is useful for us, European Communists, to exchange views in the interests of our common cause, to discuss important and pressing issues such as peace, co-operation, security and social progress in Europe.

The fact that we have gathered here, in Berlin, may to some extent be regarded as symbolic. This city, where Hitlerism was finally smashed, a city which lay in ruins only 30 years ago, is today a magnificent example of socialist rejuvenation, florescence and projection into the future. Today it is the capital of the German Democratic Republic, a country whose thoughts, as was recently reiterated at the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, are linked with peaceful, creative labor in the name of the communist future.

Today Berlin is hospitably receiving the Communists of Europe, who have gathered to suggest to the peoples of this continent the ways of advancing toward new horizons of peace and social progress. This is indeed a vivid indication of the historic changes in Europe.

Our continent is today far different from the Europe that 30 years ago emerged from the Second World War dislocated, bathed in blood and gutted by fire. It is not even the Europe that it was only 10 or 15 years ago, in the period of the cold war. The alignment of class forces has changed on the international scene and in many countries. The role played by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties, in European affairs has grown immensely.

What has been achieved by the peoples of Europe today is, above all, the fruit of the liberation struggle against the fascist aggressors and enslavers. Tens of millions of people laid down their lives in that struggle. They made their contribution to Europe's renewal. This we shall never forget.

Today's Europe is to a large extent the product of successful socialist and communist construction in a number of its countries. It is also the product of the sustained struggle for peace waged by the socialist countries on the international scene.

At the same time the new situation in Europe has been brought about by the mounting class struggle of the working people in capitalist countries led by the working class, the struggle of the broad public for durable peace.

These changes are occurring against the background of the general crisis of capitalism, and this is a distinctive feature of the period we are living in. It should be stressed here that it is not only an economic but also a political and moral crisis of capitalism. It increasingly convinces the people that capitalism has no future, thereby multiplying the numbers of those who advocate another, socialist way. This crisis can be checked neither by invigoration of the imperialist military and political blocs nor by the arms drive, neither by the economic integration of monopolies nor by the semblance of social reforms or by repressions.

It is today more evident than ever that imperialism can no longer determine the future of Europe. At present the socialist states, the working-class and democratic movement of the capitalist countries have a big say in shaping its future. It is mainly thanks to them that for over 30 years now Europe has been living in peace.

Many acute and explosive problems that had been plaguing the continent since the Second World War have at last been resolved in the new conditions in Europe. The important treaties and agreements signed in recent years by socialist states with France, the FRG and other Western countries, and the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin have improved the international situation in Europe.

The principles of peaceful coexistence have become the basic orientation of the relations between countries. This has received its fullest expression in the success of the European Conference with the participation of the USA and Canada. This is a major political victory of the peace forces.

The Final Act of the Conference is a rich and comprehensive code of peaceful intercourse and cooperation among countries. We are striving to give effect to all its provisions. But what we prize most is that this document is oriented on ensuring lasting peace in Europe. For that was the cardinal purpose of the European Conference, namely, to help strengthen the peace and security of the European peoples.

The progress of détente has inspired and invigorated the forces of peace and progress and enhanced their prestige and influence among the people. It has shown the soundness of the stand adopted by realistically-minded representatives of the ruling circles of bourgeois countries. But it has also alerted and activated the reactionary and militarist forces that would like to drag Europe and the whole world back to the days of the cold war and the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. Commotion seized those who profit from the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction, those who conceive of no other political career than that of whipping up a "crusade" against the socialist countries, against the Communists or, as is being done by China's Maoist leaders, openly urge preparations for another war with the intent of deriving benefits for themselves by bringing other countries and peoples into conflict.

The counteraction of these heterogeneous forces to détente assumes diverse forms. The main thing is, however, the striving to spur the arms race, which has already reached unparalleled proportions.

To this end imperialism's aggressive forces and their yes-men have again pulled out the shopworn myth of a "Soviet threat," which has allegedly risen over the Western states. The mass media and, in many cases, prominent personalities persist in spreading absurd assertions that crudely misrepresent the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

In defiance of common sense, the "responsibility" for internal political events in other states, for civil and national liberation wars, is attributed to the socialist countries. "Hordes of Russian tanks" are conjured up to intimidate the public, which is made to believe that the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty member-states are stockpiling

armaments on a colossal scale and preparing for a "war against Western Europe."

But the moment one looks at the facts, at reality, these fabrications collapse like a house of cards.

In the case of Central Europe no great disparities exist between the size of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO armed forces. Their level (with certain distinctions in profile on either side) is more or less the same, and has been so for many years. The Western powers know this just as well as we do.

For that very reason the socialist countries propose reaching an agreement on an equal reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the sides (those of the USSR and the USA for a start) so as not to change the balance of strength but to cut back the military expenditures of the sides and reduce the risk of a clash. What could be more logical and just? But no, the NATO countries are doggedly endeavoring to secure an unproportionate cutback, a change of the balance of strength in their own favor and to the detriment of the socialist countries. Quite obviously, we cannot agree to this. Their stance can thus have only one aim: to slow down the talks and prevent a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

It was the Soviet Union which suggested that the countries participating in the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe should undertake not to increase the numerical strength of their armed forces while the talks were in progress. But even this proposal was not accepted by the West. NATO continues to build up the numerical strength and striking power of its combat units in Central Europe.

So, who wants to reduce the danger of war in Europe and who helps to increase it?

The Soviet Union is the only big power that does not increase its military expenditure from year to year and works for an agreed reduction of the military budgets of the powers. At the same time the U.S. military budget keeps rising, exceeding the \$100 billion mark, while the military expenditure of NATO's West European members more than doubled between 1971 and 1975.

Such are the facts. They speak for themselves. Let us recall some other eloquent facts.

It was the Soviet Union which put forward important proposals for concluding a world treaty that would renounce the use of force in international relations, and for banning the development of new types

and systems of weapons of mass destruction (including those which may be even more terrible than nuclear weapons). These proposals met with broad approval in the world, but unfortunately the governments of the Western powers (to say nothing of China) have not yet shown great desire to put them into effect.

At the Soviet-American talks on the further limitation of strategic armaments the Soviet Union proposed that agreement be reached on forgoing the development of new, even more destructive types of weapons such as missile-carrying Trident submarines and strategic B-1 bombers in the United States and of similar systems in the Soviet Union. But the United States turned down our proposals and set to the development of these new means of mass annihilation.

The Soviet Union offered to reach agreement with the USA on the withdrawal of nuclear-arms-carrying Soviet and U.S. warships and submarines from the Mediterranean. But our proposal was declined.

The Soviet Union came forward with the proposal for a treaty on a total and general nuclear test ban, a proposal that received wide support in the UN. However, the other nuclear powers refused to begin negotiating a relevant agreement.

All these proposals of ours remain in force. Most of them, along with other concrete proposals, are in the Program for Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of Peoples, approved by the 25th Congress of the CPSU and for whose implementation our Party and our country are working.

It seems to me, comrades, that what I have said is enough to answer correctly the question of who is striving to curb the arms race and who is spurring it by their actions.

Experience shows that to achieve lasting peace is a difficult matter requiring great energy, perseverance and consistency. Soon after the October Revolution, speaking of the tasks of the Soviet state in the struggle to end the First World War, Lenin said: "It is highly naive to think that peace can be easily attained, and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 345). These words still hold true. I can assure you, comrades, that our Party will not relax its efforts in the struggle for peace and the security of nations.

In this context we continue to attach great importance to improving Soviet-U.S. relations, to the strict observance by the two countries of the relevant treaties and agreements signed by them in recent years,

and also to the conclusion of new agreements that would consolidate and continue the work begun in 1972 and 1973.

Of course, the successful completion of the lengthy elaboration of the new strategic arms limitation agreement would be of paramount significance. In this matter the USSR has displayed and continues to display good will and a constructive approach. It is all the more strange, therefore, that from time to time one hears responsible quarters in the USA urging accelerated arming, which they motivate with references to the dragging out of the talks with the USSR, a protraction, to put it bluntly, that has extended over several months through no fault of ours whatsoever.

Comrades, it is not simple to defuse the powder keg, or rather the nuclear magazine, into which Europe has been converted today. But it is important to make a realistic start in that direction. Any concrete measures aimed at preserving and multiplying the elements of trust taking shape in the relations between the countries of the East and West are valuable under present-day conditions.

True to the letter and spirit of the understandings reached in Helsinki, the Soviet Union punctually notifies the countries that participated in the European Conference of the military exercises held in border zones and invites observers to these exercises from neighboring countries.

Everybody knows that the socialist countries have repeatedly proposed simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic and Warsaw Treaty organizations or, as a preliminary step, the dismantling of their military organizations.

Of course, we by no means equate these two organizations. The Warsaw Treaty is a purely defensive organization. NATO, on the other hand, was set up as an instrument of aggression and suppression of the liberation struggle, and whatever is done to whitewash its activity, that is what it remains today. But we are in principle against dividing the world into military blocs and are prepared to do everything possible to achieve a simultaneous cessation of the activities of both groups.

Comrades, the European peoples are the heirs and successors to the noble traditions that have become an inalienable part of world culture. Needless to say, these great traditions impose definite obligations on the Europeans of our epoch.

And yet there is something else: Europe has been the source of the most terrible wars in the history of mankind. At least a hundred million extinguished human lives — such is the bloody toll of Euro-

pean history up to our days. This, too, is something the Europeans contributed to the history of mankind, but it is a horrible contribution which serves as a warning and devolves an obligation on us. It obliges us to think of the past for the sake of the future.

Europe has entered a fundamentally new epoch that differs entirely from anything that had been in the past. For Europeans, failure to understand this would mean moving toward catastrophe.

A wise old saying has it that he who takes up the sword shall perish by the sword. He who takes up the sword in the Europe of our days will not only perish himself; he is even unable to conceive who else will perish with him in the fire — enemies, friends, allies or simply neighbors, near or far.

The very idea of using nuclear weapons in Europe sounds monstrous to Soviet people. The European house has become extremely crowded and flammable. There neither is nor will be a fire brigade that could put out the fire if it really were to break out.

For Europe and Europeans peace has indeed become vitally necessary. For that reason we, Communists, proponents of the most humane and life-asserting world outlook, consider that today, more than ever before, it is important to blaze the road to military détente, to halt the arms race.

Furthermore, it is exceedingly important to create, so to speak, the material fabric of peaceful cooperation in Europe, a fabric that would strengthen the link between European peoples and states, and make them increasingly more interested in preserving peace for many years to come. I have in mind various forms of mutually beneficial cooperation: trade, cooperation in production, and scientific and technical links.

This is a quite realistic task. In recent years, in an atmosphere of growing détente, the states of Eastern and Western Europe have accumulated no little experience of such cooperation. For instance, during the past five years the Soviet Union's trade with the European capitalist states has more than tripled. Growing importance attaches to cooperation in the building of large-scale projects on a basis of mutual benefit.

I think the European Communists are of the same opinion about the benefits and desirability of further developing such ties. These ties help to create the material foundation for lasting peace. They are consistent with the immediate interests of the working people. Suffice it to mention that according to statistics published in the West, the economic links with socialist countries are already providing em-

ployment for hundreds of thousands and even millions of people in Western Europe in these crisis-torn times.

However, on that road, too, many obstacles are being raised by the capitalist countries, which in many cases resort to discriminatory measures against socialist states.

Life is giving more and more prominence to the task of promoting mutually beneficial multilateral cooperation among European states in order jointly to resolve major problems affecting their common interests. As everybody knows, we have proposed the holding of European congresses or inter-state conferences to consider ways and means of cooperating in the solution of problems such as environmental protection, the development of transport and energy. In word, the Western states seem to be in favor, but in fact they have adopted an evasive attitude, and are obviously in no hurry to take practical steps. How is this to be squared with assurances of support for the understandings reached in Helsinki.

As regards the USSR, it intends to continue developing economic relations among European countries in the name of durable peace and real benefit for the European peoples.

Comrades, in order to create an atmosphere of trust between states, which is so vital to lasting peace, the peoples must know and understand one another better. Precisely this is our main point of approach to cultural exchanges and human contacts in all their diversity.

How do matters stand in this area? We in the Soviet Union feel that it is important for our people to know more about the past and present of other peoples, to know their culture better and to respect the historical experience and achievements of other countries.

For that reason cultural exchanges are given the utmost encouragement by the Soviet Government, which formalizes them in inter-governmental agreements and steadily expands them. At present the Soviet Union maintains cultural relations with 120 countries. In keeping with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference we have initiated additional steps to expand exchanges of books, films and works of art. Such, as you know, is also the policy in these questions of the other socialist countries that took part in the European Conference.

In the case of the capitalist states, we have heard more than enough fine words about exchanges of spiritual values, but all too little is actually done.

This is seen in the most diverse areas. Britain and France, for

example, publish one book by a Soviet author to six or seven British and French authors published in the USSR. The number of Soviet films screened in the West constitutes a tiny fraction of the number of Western films shown in our country, and Soviet television programs just one-third, etc.

On the whole, the peoples of the socialist countries are much better informed about life in the West than the working masses in the capitalist countries are about the socialist realities. What are the reasons for this? The basic reason is that the ruling class in the bourgeois countries obviously does not want the working people to learn the truth at first hand about the socialist countries, their social and cultural development, and about the political and moral principles of the citizens of socialist society.

To weaken the force of attraction exercised by socialism, to blacken its image, bourgeois propaganda has invented the myth of a "closed society." The socialist countries are said to avoid intercourse with other peoples, and to sidestep exchanges of information and development of contacts between peoples.

Again, let us look at the facts. During the past year alone more than 58 million foreigners visited the CMEA member-countries. And nearly 35 million citizens from countries of the socialist community went abroad. This one fact shows clearly what all this talk about a "closed society" is worth.

Or take the question of contacts between such mass organizations as trade unions. Time and again, the U.S. authorities have denied visas to Soviet trade union delegations invited by U.S. trade unions. There have even been cases where representatives of the Soviet trade unions were refused entry to attend international meetings held in U.S. territory.

In the case of the Soviet Union, last year as many as 980 foreign trade union and workers' delegations visited it and 750 Soviet delegations went to foreign countries.

No, the socialist countries are not a "closed society." We are open to everything that is truthful and decent, and are prepared to multiply contacts in every way, making the most of the congenial conditions created by the *détente*. But our doors will always be closed to publications advocating war, violence, racism and hatred of man, and doubly so to emissaries of foreign secret services and the anti-Soviet emigre organizations they have created. However, certain people in the West, while prattling about "freedom" of contacts, are out to gain a free hand for exceedingly dirty business. We are not afflicted by spy

mania. But neither shall we afford freedom for subversive acts against our system, against our society. I think that after the recent scandalous revelations of CIA activity, everyone will understand that, to put it mildly, our approach to the matter has its reasons.

As we see it, cultural exchanges and information media must serve humane ideals and the cause of peace, and must promote trust and friendship among the peoples. Meanwhile, subversive radio stations that have usurped such designations as "Liberty" and "Free Europe" are operating from the territory of some European countries. Their very existence is poisoning the international atmosphere and is an outright challenge to both the letter and spirit of the understandings reached in Helsinki. The Soviet Union is strongly urging an end to the activity of these tools of psychological warfare.

Comrades, faithful to the great principles of proletarian internationalism, our Party has never divorced the destiny of the Soviet Union from that of the other European countries and the rest of the world. Our foreign policy, whose aim is to strengthen peace and the freedom of the peoples, and our home policy centered on the building of communism, are not only consonant with the vital interests of the Soviet people, but also constitute — and of this we are convinced — a contribution to the common struggle of the Communists of the world for a better future for mankind.

Comrades, you are probably aware of the results of the 25th CPSU Congress and know about the plans the Congress has drawn up for the development of the Soviet Union. The scale of our economy is now colossal. Suffice it to say that the Soviet Union accounts for 20 per cent of the world's industrial output. In physical terms this is more than the whole world produced in 1950. It is easy to understand how diverse and complicated are the problems involved in planning and managing such a huge economic machine.

The advantages of socialism enable us to secure uninterrupted economic growth and, at the same time, steady improvement of the living standard of the entire people. At present, the Party is giving priority to the objective of raising efficiency in production and improving the quality of work in the broadest sense of the word. This requires a tremendous amount of work in different areas — from extensive renewal of the technical foundation of production to new major advances in the cultivation of a conscious, communist attitude to labor, and in promoting the initiative of the millions upon millions of working people.

And it is important to stress that while building up production and

raising the living standard of the people, we do not regard this as an aim in itself and approach the matter keeping in mind the main program aims of communist construction.

This applies, among other things, to levelling up the conditions of life in town and village, to which the agrarian policy orientation worked out by our Party in recent years is largely geared. This also applies to the gradual eradication of the distinctions between mental and physical labor, which is assisted, among other things, by universal and compulsory 10-year schooling and the considerable rise in the intellectual standard of labor in industry and farming. Furthermore, by building houses on an unprecedented scale we have provided tens of millions of people with good living conditions in modern dwellings at record low rents. And work in this direction will continue.

Success in the development of our society is possible only as a result of the free and creative labor of the people, their ever more active use of their civil rights, their ever broader participation in shaping all the aspects of society. This is why the further advance in building communism will also necessarily amount to a further development of socialist democracy. That is the fundamental course followed by our Party. That is also our everyday reality.

In the socialist conditions the Soviet citizen has acquired a truly valuable quality: a sense of being master of his country deeply aware of the connection between his own labor and the cause of the whole people, who always remembers and considers the common interests.

And it is not a platonic feeling, but a very real attitude of millions of people. Let me try and show what I mean with a few examples.

If, say, a trained, skilled worker in a factory or on a farm achieves the best production results, if he outstrips his workmates, his main concern is, as a rule, to pass on his knowhow to others, to make it common property. And, I daresay, none are more respected in our country than these front-rankers. Many of them are known to the whole country, the newspapers write about them, and they are elected to organs of state power.

More than two million people in our country are bearers of state power, are elected to Soviets. But this is not all: almost 30 million Soviet citizens constitute the body of activists of the Soviets, and assist voluntarily and selflessly in the big and complicated business of government. Furthermore, nine million people are active in the elective people's control bodies, keeping the different levels of administration under close observation, and combating signs of bureaucracy and negligence.

Or take this other form of activity: standing production conferences have been set up in the factories of the Soviet Union, consisting 65 per cent of workers. More than a million suggestions advanced by these conferences to improve production and working conditions were put into effect in 1975 alone.

These are just a few examples, but it seems to me that they give a good idea of how the work of the managerial bodies combines with immediate democracy at grass-roots level in our country.

To be sure, there are not a few shortcomings and unresolved problems in our large and complex society. We are well aware of them, and the Party mobilizes the people to surmount and remove them. No shortcomings or difficulties, however, can obscure in our minds that main historic victory achieved by the Soviet people after the Great October Revolution under the guidance of Lenin's Communist Party. We have created a society free from domination by a monopoly oligarchy, free from fear of crises and unemployment, and free from social upheavals. We have created a society of people with equal rights in the broadest sense of the word, without estate, property, racial or any other privileges, a society that not only proclaims the rights of man, but also assures the opportunity to use them. We have created a stable, dynamic and close-knit society.

It is quite safe to say, comrades, that in our country the working people have never yet in history had as high a living standard as they do now. Never before have they had so high an educational level and such opportunities for access to cultural values. Never before have they felt as confident of their future — the peaceful future of their country — as they do now. That is the basis for the Soviet people's unanimous support of the policy of the CPSU, the basis for the indestructible unity of the Party and the people in our country.

Comrades, the course of world events is determined in ever greater measure by the anti-imperialist forces opposed to oppression and exploitation, to violence and arbitrariness in international affairs. And very much depends on their unity and joint action.

The fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries is multiplying the strength of each of them. Equal economic cooperation adds a tremendous potential to the resources of each. The deep-going, organic and continuously growing friendly ties among Party bodies, state organs, the collectives of enterprises and research institutes, public organizations, and among millions upon millions of citizens are evidence of a fundamentally new phenomenon — a real fraternal alliance of peoples welded by identity of convictions and common aims. The militant

community of Marxist-Leninist parties is its dependable foundation, its cementing force.

A tremendous role is played by the interaction of Communists of the socialist and capitalist countries. Nine years ago representatives of many fraternal parties from both parts of our continent jointly worked out a program of struggle for peace and security in Europe. Now, everybody can see that this program has in the main been put into effect.

Like the Communists of other socialist countries, we Soviet Communists are deeply grateful to the comrades from capitalist countries who displayed solidarity with us both at difficult moments in our history and in the days of peaceful labor. We, for our part, always show our solidarity with the struggle of our class brothers in the capitalist camp and strive to render them moral and political support.

The vigorous activity of Communists in the West European countries, their perseverance in the struggle to win the masses, to unite the working class and all forces capable of combating monopoly power, to establish genuinely democratic regimes and create the conditions for transition to socialism, are yielding fruits. It is precisely due to the consistent and tireless struggle for the vital interests of the broad masses that the Communist parties in Italy and France, Finland and Portugal, and also in Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany and other capitalist countries have grown into a prestigious political force. Convincing evidence of this is the outstanding success of the Communist Party of Italy in the recent parliamentary election — a success over which all of us rejoice and on which we congratulate our Italian comrades.

It is especially important that in joining hands with broad democratic movements, including the Social Democrats and the Christians, in the struggle against the reactionary imperialist circles, the Communists remain true revolutionaries, convinced proponents of replacing the capitalist with the socialist system. They subordinate all their activity to this historic objective.

Each Communist Party is born of the working-class movement in the country where it operates. And it is accountable for its actions above all to the working people of its own country, whose interests it expresses and promotes. But this very fact also creates the basis for the internationalist solidarity of Communists. Because, in contrast to what Lenin described as the insurmountable clash of the interests of the exploiters, who fight over profits, over markets and spheres of influence, there are no such contradictions among the working people

of all countries, for they have the same interests and the same aspirations. It is clear, on the other hand, that the more influential the Communist Party is in its own country, the larger can be its contribution to the struggle for the common aims of Communists on the international scene.

True, sometimes we hear this question: is proletarian internationalism still relevant, or has it become obsolete? And there are those who express apprehensions: does the call for closer internationalist bonds uniting Communists imply the desire to reinstitute an organizational center?

Strange apprehensions. As far as we know no one anywhere has advanced ideas of creating such a center. And as regards proletarian internationalism, that is, the solidarity of the working class and the Communists of all countries in the struggle for common aims, their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, and voluntary cooperation among fraternal parties with strict observance of the equality and independence of each — we hold that such comradely solidarity, of which the Communists have been standard-bearers for over a hundred years, has retained all its great significance to this day. It has been and remains a mighty and tested weapon of the Communist parties and the working-class movement in general.

Incidentally, our common class adversary — the international bourgeoisie — has shown many examples of international coordination of action against the revolutionary forces. Wherever the exploiting system is in danger, wherever the forces of national and social liberation, the democratic forces, gain the upper hand in the struggle, imperialism makes literally feverish attempts to coordinate its counter-attacks. There are many examples of this in our time — in Europe and in Africa, and elsewhere.

Today, when the prospect of Communist participation in government has taken shape in some of the West European countries, the reactionary circles, especially in the NATO camp, have mounted a campaign of outright pressure and interference in their internal affairs. And just look at what they oppose, comrades — the results of general elections. It follows, therefore, that imperialist politicians who make so much noise about democracy and freedom are, in fact, not prepared to tolerate either when their grip on power is prejudiced.

In the circumstances it is particularly important that here at this Conference we are collectively demonstrating the readiness of our parties to contribute to the struggle for jointly charted aims.

There is one sphere of our cooperation which merits special mention — uniting efforts in generalizing revolutionary experience, developing further the theory of scientific communism created by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Every Party contributes to the development of revolutionary theory. This theory, as Lenin rightly stressed, grows out of “the sum total of the revolutionary experience and the revolutionary thinking of all countries in the world” (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 354).

The experience accumulated by the communist movement, comrades, is truly immense. It is experience in building socialism in a great variety of conditions, showing both its general objective laws and the diversity of concrete forms. It is also experience in defending the vital interests of the masses, in gathering the revolutionary forces, in fighting for socialism in countries at different levels of development. All this requires analysis and generalization, and doubly so because, apart from its very own specific features deriving from national peculiarities, the experience of every fraternal Party necessarily contains common features of interest to our entire movement. Also, life continuously adds something new to the objective socio-political and economic processes in the individual countries and on the world scale, to the struggle for our common aims.

While treating the creativity of our comrades of the communist family with great consideration, we hold that only practical experience can be the criterion of the correctness or, conversely, the error of this or that proposition. But even before practice hands down its final verdict, there is the opportunity and need for testing such propositions in comradely discussion, by a broad comparison of the viewpoints and experience of the different parties. It is obvious that both theory and practice, our common cause will benefit as a result.

We hold that multilateral meetings convened from time to time to exchange information and opinions on pressing political matters would also be useful.

Comrades, the Communists do not fence themselves off within their movement. They are always prepared to unite their efforts with the efforts of all those who cherish peace and the interests of the peoples. The Final Act of the European Conference has created a good foundation for safeguarding peace and security in Europe. But in order to achieve this aim, in order to make the détente irreversible and the peace truly inviolable, we need not only the efforts of governments, but also actions by the popular masses.

We must do everything we can to enable the popular masses to see

clearly that it is in their vital interests to render active support to initiatives and actions designed to strengthen peace, security and cooperation. This, as we see it, is today one of the Communists' most important tasks, the task of every fraternal Party and all the parties combined. We hold, comrades, that our Conference can and must play a significant role in this noble effort.

Here, at this meeting of European Communist parties, we are naturally dealing first and foremost with the situation in Europe. Yet the draft of our document devotes considerable space to the relationship between the struggle for peace and social progress in this continent and the struggle for peace and social progress in other parts of the world. And this is as it should be. As the founders of our teaching predicted, socialism has become the objective condition and compelling need for mankind's further progress.

We are fighting for peace and security in all the world. From this rostrum we extend heartfelt greetings to all the participants in the national liberation movement, and reaffirm our unfaltering support for their just struggle for the freedom, independence and progressive development of their countries.

The contribution of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the cause of peace and progress is growing incontestably. Socialism has already sunk deep roots in many countries that shook off the colonial yoke of imperialism and took the road of free, independent development. A significant part in international affairs is played by the non-alignment movement.

The Conference document we have agreed upon expresses the readiness of the Communists to contribute to the establishment of a new and just economic order in the world. The struggle for equal political and economic relations and cooperation of the developed countries with the former colonial and dependent countries — such relations as have already long been established with them by the socialist states — is an important component of our parties' common internationalist duty.

Comrades, respect for the views of every participant, a democratic and truly comradely atmosphere of discussion, broad comparison of the experience of different parties and friendly consideration for the interests of the partners, have enabled us to arrive at joint assessments and conclusions on a number of urgent problems of immense importance to the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world today. We have been able to draw up an important document on these issues, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

I want to stress that the CPSU regards this document as an obligation for our Party to work energetically and perseveringly for the aims collectively advanced by the European Communists.

And we are sure that the outcome of our Conference, which has raised aloft the banner of unity of the European Communists, will help us unite our efforts and invigorate our common struggle for the vital interests of the working people for democracy and socialism, and for lasting peace in Europe.

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING PEACE

Visit of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the Soviet Union

Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, was on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from June 8 to 13, 1976. She was accompanied by members of her family and Yashwan B. Chavan, Minister of External Affairs; Sankar Ghosh, Minister of State for Planning; chief secretary to the Prime Minister P.N. Dhar; secretaries of the Ministry of External Affairs M.A. Uellodi, V.K. Ahuja, and other officials.

During her stay in the Soviet Union, the Prime Minister and her party also visited Yerevan and Tbilisi, acquainted themselves with the various aspects of life and achievements of the Soviet people in the economic, scientific and cultural fields. Everywhere the distinguished Indian guests were given a warm welcome, reflecting the profound feelings of genuine friendship and respect of the Soviet people for the great Indian people and the leaders of the Republic.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had a talk with CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

During the visit Soviet-Indian negotiations were held.

Participating in them were, from the Soviet side: General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev; Politbureau member and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium N.V. Podgorny; Politbureau member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers A.N. Kosygin; Politbureau member and Minister of Foreign Affairs A.A. Gromyko.

From the Indian side: Prime Minister Indira Gandhi; Minister of External Affairs Yashwan B. Chavan; State Minister for Planning Shankar Ghosh; Ambassador of India to the USSR Inder Kumar Gujral.

During the talks, which passed in a friendly, warm atmosphere and a spirit of mutual understanding, an exchange of views was held on a wide range of Soviet-Indian relations, as well as some key international problems.

The sides noted with satisfaction the immense importance of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation concluded in 1971 for Soviet-Indian relations, its effective role as a stabilizing factor in South Asia and on the continent as a whole. They stressed that on the basis of the Treaty bilateral friendly ties in the political, economic, cultural and other fields have reached a new level and have become more varied. It was noted that at present favorable conditions exist for furthering Soviet-Indian ties.

While discussing international problems, the sides reaffirmed their resolve to promote détente, cooperation and understanding between states, including on the Asian continent.

A declaration on developing further friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India was signed in the Kremlin on June 11 by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

DECLARATION ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND INDIA

The Soviet Union and India are determined to unswervingly pursue in relations with each other the course of strengthening friendship and cooperation in every way and to do all in their power for the further improvement of the international climate, particularly through augmenting their joint contribution to the solution of fundamental international problems in the interests of strengthening peace and security of the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union and India note with satisfaction a broad coincidence of their views on topical international questions of common interest as well as on the ways of further strengthening the bilateral cooperation between them. Both sides solemnly reiterate the resolve of the two countries to strengthen in every way Soviet-Indian friend-

ship which is a valuable asset of the peoples of the two countries.

The Soviet Union and India view with satisfaction the noticeable improvement in the international situation and the positive changes that have taken place in recent years on the international scene.

The two sides welcomed the successful conclusion of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation and they believe that the changes effected in Europe toward the relaxation of tensions and the strengthening of peace create favorable conditions for maintaining and consolidating peace on the European continent. The Prime Minister of India highly appreciated the contribution made by the Soviet Union, and personally by Mr. L.I Brezhnev, to this process. Both sides are convinced that the relaxation of tensions is vital for all countries of the world, large and small, developed and developing.

The Soviet Union and India reaffirm that they attach particular significance to a broad development of mutually beneficial cooperation and the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia through common efforts by all the states of this largest and most populated area of the world. The Soviet Union and India agreed on the need to create such conditions as would permit the peoples to live in peace and good-neighborliness, and for their manpower and material resources to be channelled to solve social and economic problems which are of primary importance for the improvement of the living standards of the peoples and the uplift of their economy and culture.

Both sides believe that inter-state relations should be based on such principles as the renunciation of the use of force in relations among states, respect for sovereignty and inviolability of borders, non-interference in internal affairs of countries and peoples and broad development of cooperation in economic and other fields on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit.

They consistently come out in favor of the right of each people to be the master of their own destiny, the inadmissibility of territorial annexation through aggression, the inalienable right of each state to exercise sovereignty over its natural resources and to implement progressive socio-economic transformations, and in favor of the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means.

The transformation of Asia into a continent of durable peace will, in the opinion of both sides, undoubtedly facilitate further normalization of relations between countries and strengthen universal peace.

The Soviet Union and India fully agree in their appraisal of the positive contribution made by the non-alignment movement to the

common struggle for peace and security of nations, against the policy of aggression and interference of imperialism, for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid, in defense of independence and freedom of all peoples, for the establishment of international economic norms of inter-state relations on the basis of respect for national sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit.

The Soviet Union and India reaffirm their support for all governments and peoples fighting against the forces of reaction and imperialism. They declare the determination of the two states to make every effort to eliminate the remaining hotbeds of tension which threaten international security and mutually beneficial cooperation among nations.

The two sides exchanged views on the situation in the Indian subcontinent. The Prime Minister of India informed the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU of India's consistent efforts to normalize the situation in the Indian subcontinent. The agreement concluded on May 14, 1976 in Islamabad between India and Pakistan creates favorable conditions for promoting understanding and mutual cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet Union and India are in favor of promoting good-neighborly relations between the states of the subcontinent and they resolutely pronounce themselves against any instigation from outside and against any attempts by external forces aimed at aggravating the situation in this region. They welcome the recent steps toward further normalization of the situation, restoration of confidence, mutual understanding and good-neighborly relations between all states in the subcontinent. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr. L.I. Brezhnev, welcomed the efforts of Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi in this regard.

The Soviet Union and India agree that the supplementing of political détente with military détente and the cessation of the arms race are of primary importance for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. The two sides reaffirm their determination to facilitate the achievement of general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under effective international control.

The Soviet Union and India support the desire of the peoples of the Indian Ocean area to prevent it from becoming an arena for the setting up of foreign military bases. The two sides reaffirm their readiness to participate, together with all states concerned, on an equal basis and in conformity with generally recognized rules of international law, in

finding a favorable solution to the question of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

The Soviet Union and India agree that the renunciation of the use or threat of force for solving controversial issues between states should become a law of international life. Noting with satisfaction the reaffirmation of this principle in the decisions of the United Nations and in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Soviet Union and India call upon all states to facilitate the adoption of measures aimed at concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

The Soviet Union and India note with satisfaction that Soviet-Indian cooperation which, as a result of the signing in 1971 of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, has been provided a solid political and legal basis in accordance with the long-term interests of the peoples of both countries, has been successfully developing and deepening in all spheres during the past five years. The desire of both sides for broad all-round cooperation between the USSR and India reflects their deep interest in ensuring economic and social progress, peace and security of peoples of the world.

The sides attach great importance to the practice of Soviet-Indian political consultations which has proven its value. They decided to develop this practice by making these consultations systematic and substantive and paying special attention to using them in assisting the implementation of agreed measures to strengthen peace, international security and cooperation on the basis of equality between states.

Noting the special importance of meetings at the highest level as a factor effectively promoting the development and deepening of inter-state relations between the USSR and India, the sides agreed to hold regular meetings between leaders of the Soviet Union and India.

In accordance with the desire of the Government of India to strengthen the country's economic independence and the readiness expressed by the USSR Government to render appropriate assistance to India in achieving this objective, Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation has been further developed and diversified, inter alia, in such key branches of the economy as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, engineering, power generation, extraction and refining oil and natural gas, coal and mining industry, agriculture as well as in other fields. As a result of broad economic and technical cooperation a number of big industrial enterprises and other projects have been built, are under construction and are being expanded in India in the

public sector thus contributing to the strengthening of the economy and independence of the country.

The sides will seek to expand in every way their production cooperation, particularly in the fields of non-ferrous metallurgy, textile industry, electronics, agricultural production and in other branches of the economy, regarding such cooperation as a promising and effective form of their mutually beneficial bilateral economic cooperation, including cooperation in assisting economic development in their countries.

The two sides carried out a review of the long-term Agreement on Further Development of Economic and Trade Cooperation between the USSR and India concluded on November 29, 1973 in New Delhi. They noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Indian trade has been developing steadily. They affirm that in order to reach the target for the growth of trade laid down in the Soviet-Indian Declaration of November 29, 1973 it is essential for the two countries to explore new areas and new modes of cooperation. It was also decided to take measures aimed at expanding the list of commodities for trade. Both sides noted that the recently concluded third session of the Intergovernmental Soviet-Indian Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation has broken new ground in such areas as production cooperation and that the two sides are actively examining a number of other specific proposals in this regard.

The Soviet Union and India express their unanimous opinion on the usefulness of the many-faceted ties existing between them in the field of scientific and technical cooperation including fundamental research, applied sciences and technology, medicine, agriculture and other fields. A new chapter has been added to scientific and technological collaboration between the two countries with the launching of India's first artificial earth satellite Aryabhata by a Soviet launcher from Soviet territory and with the conclusion of another agreement for the launching of a second Indian satellite. Both sides intend to develop and expand scientific and technical cooperation in every possible way in the interests of accelerating scientific and technological progress which facilitates the elevation of the living standards of broad masses of the population.

The two sides welcome the development of Soviet-Indian ties in the spheres of science, culture, art, literature, education, health, mass media, tourism and sports and express their desire to deepen and enrich these ties.

Both sides express their confidence that the visit of the Prime

Minister of India to the Soviet Union and the talks held constitute a new major contribution to the further development of friendship and all-round cooperation between the USSR and India and will promote the consolidation of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Pravda, June 14. (Abridged)

IN A FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR gave a dinner for Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the Kremlin on June 8. General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev addressed those present.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Dear Madame Indira Gandhi,
Honored guests from India,
Dear Comrades,

We are happy to welcome once again to the Soviet Union the Prime Minister of friendly India and the people accompanying her. This visit and the Soviet-Indian negotiations that have begun in the Kremlin will become, we are convinced, an important new stage in the development of Soviet-Indian relations.

We highly value the constantly strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship and consider it to be of fundamental importance. We regard it as a tangible form of the unbreakable friendship and unity of the two great forces of our epoch — the world of socialism and the countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression and embarked upon the road of independent progressive development.

This is why strengthening Soviet-Indian relations, as was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, is an important objective of Soviet foreign policy.

Dear Madame Prime Minister,

It is not long since we last met in Delhi. But in politics time is measured by events, not by calendar sheets. The past years have been most eventful. Great positive changes have taken place in the world arena and in the relations between our two countries.

Speaking of Soviet-Indian relations, we think that they have grown stronger and acquired a new content. The important agreements and understandings reached during our previous meeting in Delhi are systematically being put into effect. The spheres of our

cooperation have expanded considerably. The friendship between our peoples has become even closer.

The Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation has passed the tests for strength and effectiveness. It expresses well the vital interests of our peoples, promotes peace and stability in Asia, and not only in Asia.

Regarding the prospects for Soviet-Indian cooperation, we may safely say that there is every opportunity for its further extension and improvement. This is what the current talks are about.

We highly appreciate the efforts of your government and of all India's democratic and progressive forces which are working consistently to strengthen Soviet-Indian friendship and all-round cooperation. For our part, we will continue to do everything possible to this end.

If we take a look at the political changes in the world over the last few years, we can note that the successes of the peace forces have been considerable. Several hotbeds of war, which had spoiled the international atmosphere, have been stamped out. Important interstate acts have led to the political and legal consolidation of the borders which evolved in Europe as a result of World War II. The principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems are increasingly becoming a practice in international relations. Several agreements, which have helped slow down the arms race, were concluded. The last colonial empire has collapsed. Friendship and cooperation between the socialist states and the independent freedom-loving countries in the Third World have grown stronger and have registered further progress.

All this was achieved through tremendous effort, the stubborn and ceaseless struggle of the world's peace forces. The Republic of India has worthily contributed to these results. By its policy of safeguarding peace and peaceful coexistence, opposing imperialism and reaction, colonialism and racism, your country has won high international prestige.

Détente is now a visible reality. It has, undoubtedly, taken deep root. The prerequisites exist for détente to become really irreversible. But we cannot ignore another thing — anti-détente forces have become noticeably more active of late. They seem to have suddenly awakened on seeing that their ace had been trumped. Trying to undermine détente, they are casting aspersions on the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. They are resorting to the

frazzled cold-war time charges of "aggressive intentions," of seeking "hegemony," and so on.

Our answer is simple — we want no hegemony, we do not need it. It is those who so vigorously resist the strengthening of peace and the deepening of détente that are driving for hegemony, are interfering in the affairs of other countries and peoples and are trying to impose their will on them. And it is quite obvious who is rejecting our repeated proposals to effectively curb the arms race, inflating military budgets and accelerating the development of ever more destructive weapons. All this is well known.

We are perfectly well aware of these negative phenomena and are fully determined to oppose them. The development and extension of détente is a demand of the times, a demand of all the peoples, dictated by their vital interest in a durable peace. And those who connive at the campaign of the anti-détente forces or submit to their pressure for considerations of expediency, are undertaking a grave responsibility.

Fidelity to peace is now more than ever measured by concrete deeds, by day-to-day work for this great goal. At the 25th Congress our Party advanced a clear and realistic program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples. We note with satisfaction that it has already met with the wide support of people around the world.

Dear Madame Prime Minister, we need hardly stress that firm assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in Asia, a continent where more than half of mankind lives, would be of vast importance for universal peace.

In our opinion, good prerequisites are evolving there for a turn to détente. The guns in Indochina are now silent, and a powerful peace force — united Vietnam — has emerged on the political arena. Definite positive changes are taking place in Southern Asia. We are heartened by the results of the recent Indian-Pakistani negotiations which will, in our opinion, help to further normalize the situation in that area.

At the same time we realize that the situation in Asia remains complex. There are forces there which ignore the rights and sovereignty of states and try to subordinate other peoples to their domination. They sabotage efforts to ensure peace and security for the Asian peoples on a bilateral or collective basis. Joining hands with internal reactionaries, imperialism is not giving up its attempts to set these countries against each other.

Take the question of the Indian Ocean. Certain powers, though far

removed from this area, are increasing the number of troops and opening new military bases there. Why is this done, one may ask. The coastal countries have every reason to be concerned. They justly regard this policy as a threat to their independence and security. And there is a concern in our country, too.

It makes a great difference to the Soviet Union whether the Indian Ocean becomes a zone of peace or whether the existing foreign military bases remain there and new ones are added. Our position is clear. We have stated in so many words that the Soviet Union has no intention of building military bases in the Indian Ocean. We have called on the United States to follow suit, and are waiting for a clear reply.

The Soviet Union will continue taking an active part in seeking ways to solve the Asian continent's urgent problems. We will support any proposals arising from a concern for peace and security in Asia, including those that will ensure them through joint efforts of the Asian states.

The Soviet Union welcomes the growing role the developing countries are playing in world politics and firmly supports their struggle for equitable political and economic relations, for social progress. They are already making a weighty contribution to improving the international climate. In this connection we appreciate the positive role of the non-aligned movement in which the Republic of India has a prominent place. The principles underlying this movement — strengthening peace, peaceful coexistence and national independence, struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism — have withstood the test of time. We wish the forthcoming conference of non-aligned countries in Colombo every success.

Life confirms the farsightedness of the policy the Indian National Congress Party is pursuing under your guidance, esteemed Madame Gandhi, a policy of industrialization, building an independent economy and forming a powerful state sector. It is precisely thanks to this policy that India has become a powerful state, with an important role in world politics. The prophetic words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, who predicted a great future for a liberated India, are coming true today.

The Soviet people realize what tremendous effort is needed to make progress in an enormous country like India with its complex and varied problems, and especially while the new India is under attack by external forces which will not accept this great country's independent and progressive policy.

The action your government has taken against internal and external reactionaries has met with full understanding in the USSR. Their attempts to take the offensive have been firmly rebuffed by the Indian democratic forces.

We wish your government and the hard-working and talented people of India new successes. Allow me to repeat in this connection that the Soviet Union has been and remains a reliable friend of India, of the Indian people. We are certain that through the joint efforts of the peoples of our two countries much, very much can be done for peace and human progress.

May the tree of Soviet-Indian friendship grow strong with new, life-giving sap!

Allow me to propose a toast to the health of Prime Minister Madame Indira Gandhi and all the guests from friendly India present here, to the great Indian people!

Pravda, June 9, 1976.

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