

**For Peace,
Security,
Cooperation
and
Social Progress
in Europe**

Berlin, June 29 - 30, 1976

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On the Results of the Conference
of the Communist and Workers'
Parties of Europe

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**SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
HEAD OF THE CPSU DELEGATION,
JUNE 29, 1976**

Dear comrades,

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cordially greets the participants in the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe. We convey to you the fraternal friendship and combat solidarity of fifteen and a half million Soviet Communists. We also express our warm thanks to the comrades from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and to Comrade Honecker personally, for their care, for the excellent organization of our Conference.

The leaders of 29 Communist Parties of Europe are present in this hall. People who have devoted their life to the struggle for working people's rights, for a new, just social order and for a really lasting peace among peoples are meeting here. Our Parties work in different conditions and deal with different problems, adapting their tactics and stra-

tegy to the concrete situation in their countries. But all of us are participants in one single struggle, we all move in one direction and we are all united by a common and noble ultimate goal. Therefore, it is useful that we European Communists exchange opinions in the interests of our common cause, and discuss important and topical questions like peace, co-operation, security and social progress in Europe.

In a way, it is most symbolic that we are meeting here in Berlin. It is the city which saw the ultimate rout of Hitlerism. It is a city which only 30 years ago lay in ruins and is now a splendid example of socialist rebirth, prosperity and bright future. Today it is the capital of the German Democratic Republic, a state whose entire plans are connected with peaceful creative labour, for a communist future, as the 9th SUPG Congress recently confirmed once again.

Now this Berlin is warmly welcoming the Communists of Europe, who have met to propose to the nations of the continent ways leading to new horizons of peace and social progress. This, indeed, vividly shows the historic changes in Europe.

Today our continent is a far cry from the Europe which emerged 30 years ago from World War II in ruins, covered with blood and ashes. It is not even the Europe of a mere 10-15 years ago during the "cold war". The correlation of class forces, both internationally and within many states, has changed. The role which the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties—play in European social life has greatly increased.

What the peoples of Europe have achieved today is, above all, the fruit of the liberation struggle against fascist aggressors and enslavers. Tens of millions of people gave their lives in this struggle, mak-

ing their own contribution to Europe's rebirth. We shall never forget that.

The Europe of today is, to a large extent, the fruit of the successful building of socialism and communism in several countries on the continent. It is also the fruit of a persistent and steady struggle for peace which the countries of socialism carry on in the international arena.

At the same time, Europe's new image is the result of the growing class struggle the working people, led by the working class, are waging in the bourgeois countries, and of the struggle for a lasting peace carried on by broad sections of society.

An important feature of the period we are living through is that these changes in today's Europe are happening against the background of a worsening general crisis of capitalism. It should be stressed here that this is far from just an economic crisis; it is a political and moral crisis as well. The masses are becoming increasingly convinced that capitalism is a society without a future, and, therefore, the number of advocates of the other, the socialist way, is growing. This crisis cannot be ended by revitalizing the imperialists' military-political blocs, or by the arms race, or by economic integration of the monopolies, or by apparent, but not real, social reforms, or by repression.

Today, it is clearer than ever that imperialism can no longer dictate Europe's destinies. The socialist states, the working class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries today have a say in their determination. And it is specifically these forces which have made the decisive contribution to the fact that for more than 30 years Europe has lived in peace.

Many acute and explosive problems, which had

troubled the continent since World War II, have finally been solved due to the new conditions that have taken shape in Europe. The important treaties and agreements of recent years between the socialist states and France, the FRG and other Western countries, and the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin have changed the international situation in Europe for the better.

The principles of peaceful coexistence have become the leading trend in relations among states. This was most completely reflected in the successful European Conference in which the USA and Canada participated. It is a tremendous political victory for the forces of peace.

The Conference's Final Act is a rich, multifaceted code for peaceful association and cooperation among states. We are striving to implement all its provisions. But what we value most highly is that this document is directed at achieving a lasting peace in Europe. That was the main goal of the European Conference - to help strengthen the peace and security of the European nations.

The success of international detente has inspired and strengthened the forces of peace and progress, and has heightened their prestige and influence among the people. It has shown that the positions of the realistically thinking representatives of the ruling circles in the bourgeois countries rest on solid ground. But it has also alerted and activated the forces of reaction and militarism, who would like to drag Europe and the entire world back to the "cold war" and the time of nuclear brinkmanship. It has alarmed those who wax fat on the production of weapons of death and destruction, who cannot envisage any other political career except that of launching "crusades" against the socialist countries,

against Communists, and those who openly call for "preparing for a new war", as the Maoist leaders in China are doing in the hope of benefiting from the setting of countries and peoples against one another.

These different forces oppose detente in different ways. However, their main objective is to further accelerate the arms race which is already of an unprecedented scope.

To do this, imperialism's aggressive forces and their henchmen have again resorted to the hackneyed myth about the notorious "Soviet threat" supposedly looming over the Western countries. Fantastic assertions grossly distorting the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states constantly appear in the mass media and are quite often made by prominent officials.

Against all common sense, the socialist countries are held "responsible" for internal political events in other states and for civil wars, and wars of national liberation. Ordinary people are being intimidated by "hordes of Russian tanks", and are being told that the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries are building up arms on a tremendous scale, preparing a "war against Western Europe".

But these fabrications collapse like a house of cards as soon as we look at facts, at the realities.

In Central Europe there is not much difference in the size of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. Their level has remained more or less equal (with certain differences in the types of forces each side has) for many years. And the Western powers know that as well as we do.

That is why the socialist countries propose that an equal reduction of armed forces and armaments for each side be agreed upon (say, starting with the

USSR and the USA), not to change the correlation of forces, but to reduce the sides' military spending and lessen the risk of a clash. What could be more logical and fair? But no: the NATO countries are stubbornly trying to secure an unequal reduction, so that the correlation of forces would change in their favour and to the detriment of the socialist countries. Obviously, we cannot accept this, and our Western partners in the talks apparently realize it themselves. So their position can mean only one thing: slowing down the talks and impeding the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

It was the Soviet Union which proposed that the states taking part in the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe undertake an obligation not to increase the strength of their armed forces while the talks are in progress. But this proposal wasn't accepted by the West either. NATO continues to build up the numbers and the striking power of its combat units in Central Europe.

So who really wants to abate the threat of war in Europe and who is helping increase it?

The Soviet Union is the only great power which does not increase its military spending every year, and which is working for a generally agreed reduction in military budgets. At the same time, the United States' military budget is steadily growing, already exceeding 100,000 million dollars. And the West European NATO member-countries more than doubled their military spending in the five years between 1971 and 1975.

Such is reality. It speaks for itself.

Let us recall some more vivid facts.

It was the Soviet Union that has made the impor-

tant proposals that a world treaty be signed on the non-use of force in international relations, and that a general ban on the development of new types and systems of mass-destruction weapons (and even more terrible weapons than nuclear weapons may be created) be imposed. These proposals were widely acclaimed throughout the world, but, unfortunately, we see no great desire on the part of the governments of the Western powers to implement them (to say nothing of China).

At the Soviet-US talks on the further limitation of strategic arms, the Soviet Union has officially proposed that an agreement be reached on rejecting the development of new, even more destructive types of weapons, such as the US missile-carrying *Trident* submarines and the B-1 strategic bombers and similar systems in the Soviet Union. But the United States has rejected our proposals and started working on these new means of mass destruction.

It was the Soviet Union which proposed to the USA that an agreement be reached on the removal of Soviet and American warships and nuclear missile-carrying submarines from the Mediterranean. But our proposal was rejected.

It was the Soviet Union which proposed a Treaty on the Complete and Universal Banning of Nuclear Weapon Tests. This proposal was broadly supported in the UN. However, the other nuclear powers refused to begin talks on this kind of agreement.

All these proposals still stand. Most of them, along with other concrete proposals, are included in the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, which was approved by the 25th CPSU Congress and which our Party and our state are working to implement.

I think, comrades, that what I have said is enough for a correct answer as to who is really trying to bridle the arms race and who is spurring it on.

Experience shows that winning a lasting peace is a complex question calling for great energy, perseverance and consistency. Shortly after the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin, speaking about the tasks of the Soviet state in the struggle to end World War I, stressed: "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." Lenin's words are as timely now as they were then. I assure you, comrades, that our Party will not slacken in its struggle for peace and the security of nations.

In this connection we still attach great importance to the improvement of Soviet-American relations, strict observance by both parties of the relevant treaties and agreements signed in recent years between the USSR and the USA as well as the conclusion of new agreements that would consolidate and further the cause started in 1972 and 1973.

The successful elaboration of a new agreement on strategic arms limitation, which is being dragged out, would be of primary importance. As before, the USSR expresses its goodwill and its constructive approach to this question. It is all the more strange to hear US responsible circles repeatedly call for a rapid arms buildup, using the dragged-out talks with the USSR as a pretext—the talks have been dragging for several months now. And it should be clearly stated that we are not at fault here.

Comrades, it is not that easy to defuse the powder-keg or, to put it more precisely, the atomic magazine into which present-day Europe has been tur-

ned. But it is important to start really moving in this direction. Any concrete measures that will preserve and multiply the elements of trust that are growing in relations between the states of the East and the West are valuable in today's conditions.

The Soviet Union, true to the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki agreement, makes sure to regularly inform the participants in the All-European Conference of military manoeuvres in the border zones and invites observers from neighbouring countries to attend them.

The socialist countries, as is known, have often proposed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty Organization be simultaneously dissolved, or, as a preliminary step, that their military organizations be abolished.

Naturally, we are far from equating these two organizations. The Warsaw Treaty is a purely defensive organization. As for NATO, that bloc was established as a weapon of aggression and suppression of the peoples' liberation struggle. And it still is the same today, despite all the whitewashing. But we in principle are against the division of the world into military blocs and are prepared to do everything possible so that the activities of both these groupings can be terminated simultaneously.

Comrades, the European peoples are heirs to and followers of noble traditions that cannot be separated from world culture. And so there is little need to point out that these great traditions place major responsibilities upon contemporary European people.

And there is another thing: Europe had been the starting point of the most terrible wars in human history. Not less than a hundred million human lives lost—such is the grim record in Europe's history up to our time. It is also Europe's contribution to his-

tory, but it is a terrible contribution, a warning and a responsibility. It demands that we think of the past in the name of the future.

Europe has entered a fundamentally new era, totally different from everything that went before. If the Europeans should fail to understand this they would be heading for a catastrophe.

An ancient maxim says "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword". Whoever takes up the sword in contemporary Europe will not only perish himself; he cannot even imagine who else will perish in the flames—enemies, friends, allies or simply neighbours, both near and far.

To the Soviet people the very thought of using nuclear weapons anywhere in Europe is monstrous. The European "house" has become crowded and is highly inflammable. There is no, nor will there be, a fire brigade able to extinguish the flames if the fire ever breaks out.

For Europe and its people, peace has become a truly vital need. That is why we Communists, who are partisans of the most humane, the most life-asserting world outlook, believe that it is now more important than ever to pave the road to military detente and to stop the arms race.

It is also exceptionally important to create, so to speak, the fabric of peaceful cooperation in Europe, the fabric that would strengthen relations among European peoples and states and stimulate their interest in preserving peace for many years to come. I am thinking of the different forms of mutually advantageous cooperation—trade, production cooperation and scientific and technological relations.

This task is quite feasible. Over recent years, in the course of strengthening detente, countries in both Eastern and Western Europe have gained much

experience in this kind of cooperation. For example, the Soviet Union's trade with the European capitalist countries has more than trebled over the last five years. Cooperation in building large-scale projects on a mutually advantageous foundation is becoming more important.

I believe that the Communists of Europe think alike about the usefulness and the desirability of further developing such relations. They help build up the material foundations of a lasting peace. They are in working people's direct interests. It is enough to say that, according to data published in the West, the economic relations with the socialist countries are already providing work for hundreds of thousands, even millions of people in Western Europe in this time of crisis.

However, there are quite a few obstacles on this road as well, which the capitalist countries have set up, often applying discriminatory measures against the socialist states.

Life is increasingly advancing the tasks of developing mutually advantageous, multilateral cooperation among European states, so that important problems directly bearing on their common interests can be solved jointly. As is known, we proposed all-European congresses or inter-state conferences on cooperation to resolve issues such as environmental protection and the development of transport and power engineering. The Western states in words appear to be all "for", but in deeds they are evasive and aren't in any rush to take practical action. How can this be reconciled with the assurances of support for the Helsinki agreements?

As for the USSR, it will still continue to build up economic relations among European states in the

name of a lasting peace and real benefit for European nations.

Comrades, in order to create an atmosphere of trust among states, so necessary for a lasting peace, peoples must get to know and understand each other better. This is the starting point from which we approach all cultural exchanges and human contacts.

And how do things stand in this area? We in the Soviet Union consider it important that our people know more about other peoples' past and present, know more about their culture so they can respect other countries' history and achievements.

That is why the Soviet state widely encourages cultural exchanges—consolidating them by inter-governmental agreements and organizing more every year. Today our country has cultural relations with 120 countries. In keeping with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, we have adopted additional measures that will lead to more exchanges of books, films and works of art. As is known, the other socialist countries which attended the European Conference also take the same position on these issues.

As for the capitalist countries, we have heard more than enough splendid words about exchanges of cultural values, but there has been precious little when it comes to real action.

This shows in many diverse areas. Britain and France, for instance, publish books by Soviet authors in editions one-sixth or one-seventh the size of those by British and French authors published in the USSR. The number of Soviet films shown in Western countries is only a small fraction of the number of Western films shown in the Soviet Union,

and that of T.V. programmes is only one-third, and so on.

On the whole, people in socialist countries know much more about life in the West than the working people in the capitalist countries know about socialist reality. What are the reasons for this? The main reason lies in the fact that the ruling class in the bourgeois countries is not interested in having their countries' working people learn the truth about the socialist countries first hand, about their social and cultural development, about the political and moral principles of citizens in a socialist society.

To weaken socialism's appeal, to denigrate it, bourgeois propaganda has come up with the myth of a "closed society". They claim that socialist countries shun communications with other peoples, that they avoid information exchanges and development of contacts between people.

Let us look at a few facts. Last year, 1975, alone, over 58 million guests from abroad visited the CMEA member-states. In turn, some 35 million citizens of the socialist community countries went abroad. This alone shows what all the talk about a "closed society" is really worth.

Or take contacts between mass organizations like trade unions. On more than one occasion the US authorities have denied visas to Soviet trade-union delegations invited by US trade unions. There were even cases of representatives of Soviet trade unions not being permitted to attend international meetings in the United States.

The USSR last year received 980 trade-union and workers' delegations from abroad, while 750 Soviet delegations visited other countries.

No, the socialist countries are not a "closed society". We are open to everything that is truthful

and honest, and we are ready to expand contacts in every way, using the favourable conditions detente offers. But our doors will always be closed to publications propagandizing war, violence, racism and hatred. And even more so, they will be closed to the emissaries of foreign secret services and the emigree anti-Soviet organizations they have formed. When talking about the "freedom" of contacts, certain people in the West are sometimes after free reign for the most underhand play. We are not suffering from any "spy mania". But we will not give freedom for subversion against our system, against our society. Now that there has been so much scandal over the exposure of US CIA activities, I think it will be clear to everyone that our stand in this matter is well grounded, to put it mildly.

We think that cultural exchanges and the information media should serve human ideals, the cause of peace, that they should promote international trust and friendship. But in certain European countries there are notorious subversive radio stations which have assumed such names as "Liberty" and "Free Europe". Their existence contaminates the international atmosphere and is a direct challenge to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki agreements. The Soviet Union resolutely demands that the use of these means of "psychological war" be stopped.

Comrades, our Party, loyal to the great ideas of proletarian internationalism, has never separated the destinies of the Soviet Union from the destinies of other countries of Europe and the world. The USSR's foreign policy, whose aim is to promote peace and peoples' freedom, and our domestic policy, whose aim is to build communism, not only meet the vital interests of the Soviet people, but constitute, we are certain, our contribution to the

common struggle of Communists throughout the world for a better future for mankind.

You probably know, comrades, about the results of the 25th CPSU Congress, specifically about the plans for the Soviet Union's development which this Congress outlined. The scope of our national economy is now colossal indeed. Suffice it to say that the USSR now accounts for 20 per cent of world industrial output. In absolute figures, this is more than was produced by the entire world in 1950. It is easy to see the diverse and complex problems the planning and managing of such a huge economic organism involve.

The advantages of socialism allow us to ensure the continuous growth of the country's economy and, at the same time, the constant improvement of the people's living standards. Today the Party has given priority to raising production efficiency, to improving the quality of work in all the aspects this vast concept implies. This takes tremendous effort in many directions—from a wide renovation of the basis of production technology to serious new changes in the way of instilling a conscious, communist attitude to work, in encouraging the initiative of millions of working people.

It is important to stress that we do not regard furthering production and raising our people's living standards as an end in itself, but approach these tasks in the context of the main programmatic objectives of building communism.

It is a matter, in particular, of narrowing down the gap between urban and rural living conditions, which is what the agrarian policy our Party has worked out over the last few years is largely aimed at. It is also a matter of gradually erasing the distinctions between mental and physical labour, which

is assisted by introducing universal compulsory ten-year education and by the remarkable rise in the intellectual level of the workers' and collective farmers' labour. And it is also a matter of succeeding, through an unprecedentedly vast housing construction programme, in giving tens of millions of people adequate living conditions in modern apartments at a record low rent. Our work in this area will continue.

The successes of our social development are possible only as a result of the people's free and conscious creative work, of their increasingly active exercise of their civil rights, of their increasingly active participation in shaping all aspects of public life. Therefore, our further advance in building communism will inevitably mean the further advance of socialist democracy. This is our Party's principled policy, and this is our day-to-day reality.

Under socialism something truly precious has taken shape in the character of the Soviet man—the sense of being his country's master who is well aware of the connection between his own work and the countrywide cause, and who keeps in mind and cares about common interests.

This is not some kind of an abstract feeling, but the real deeds of millions. I shall try to illustrate what I mean by several examples.

If in our country a skillful worker achieves good results in his work at a factory or in the field and is ahead of his workmates, he usually wants to pass on his experience to others, to make it theirs. There are no people more respected in our country, perhaps, than these leading workers. Many of them are famous throughout the country. They are written about in the press and are elected members of the organs of state power.

More than two million working people in our country are exercising state power, having been elected to the Soviets. As well, almost 30 million Soviet citizens make up the aktiv of the Soviets, giving voluntary and unselfish assistance to the huge and complicated work of state management. Nine million working people have been elected to organs of people's control, keeping a close eye on what the various links of management are doing and combatting red tape and dishonest labour.

And here is another form of what working people are doing—permanent production conferences, in which workers make up 65 per cent, have been set up at industrial enterprises. In 1975 alone more than a million proposals for raising production efficiency and improving labour conditions, which these conferences drew up, were put into effect.

Although these are only individual examples, I think they can give an idea of how the work of management bodies is combined with grassroots democracy.

Of course, there are not a few shortcomings and unsolved problems in our extensive and complicated public life. We are well aware of them, and the Party is mobilizing the people in order to overcome them. But no shortcomings and difficulties will ever eclipse the main historic victory our people have won following the Great October Socialist Revolution under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party. We have built a society free from monopolist oligarchy domination, free from the fear of crises, unemployment, free from social catastrophes. We have built a society of people who are equal in the broadest sense of the word, people who know neither class, property, race nor any other such privileges, a society which not only proclaims human

rights, but guarantees the conditions under which they can be exercised. We have built up a stable, dynamic and united society.

It is safe to say, comrades, that never in our history have our working people enjoyed living standards as high as they are today. Never have their educational standards been so high, and never have cultural values been more accessible. Never have they been more confident in their own future, in the peaceful future of their country than they are now. Herein lies the basis of the Soviet people's unanimous support of the CPSU policy, the basis of the unbreakable unity of the Party and the people in our country.

Comrades, world developments are increasingly being determined by anti-imperialist forces fighting against oppression and exploitation, against violence and arbitrary rule in international affairs. A great deal depends on the cohesion of these forces, on their cooperation.

The fraternal solidarity among the socialist countries increases the might of each one of them, and equal economic cooperation adds enormous potentialities to each country's own resources. The profound organic and steadily growing friendly ties between Party and state organs, between collectives at enterprises, research institutions, public organizations, among millions upon millions of citizens allow to speak about an entirely new phenomenon—a genuine fraternal alliance of peoples, united by common convictions and common aims. The militant alliance of Marxist-Leninist Parties is its firm basis, its cementing force.

Cooperation among Communists in the socialist and capitalist countries plays an enormous role. Nine years ago the representatives of many fraternal

Parties from both parts of our continent jointly elaborated a programme of struggle for peace and security in Europe. Now everyone can see that this programme, on the whole, has become a reality.

We, Soviet Communists, and Communists from other socialist countries, are deeply grateful to our comrades in the capitalist countries who stood solidly at our side in the difficult moments of our history and the days of regular peaceful work. In turn, we constantly show solidarity with the struggle our class brothers are waging in the capitalist camp, and give them moral and political support.

The vigorous activities of Communists in West European countries, their persistent struggle for winning over the masses, for the unity of the working class and all forces capable of fighting against monopoly rule, for the establishment of truly democratic regimes and for creating the conditions for the transition to socialism, are bearing fruit. It is because of their consistent and tireless struggle for the vital interests of the popular masses that the Communist Parties of Italy and France, Finland and Portugal, as well as Denmark, the FRG and other capitalist countries, have become authoritative political forces. Convincing evidence of this was the Italian Communist Party's outstanding success in the recent parliamentary elections, a success we all rejoice in and congratulate our Italian comrades on.

It is especially important that while joining with broad democratic trends, including Social Democrats and Christians, in the struggle against the reactionary forces of imperialism, the Communists should remain revolutionaries and convinced supporters of the replacement of the capitalist by the socialist system. All their activities are geared to solving this historic task.

Each Communist Party is born of its own country's working-class movement. And it is responsible for its actions above all to the working people of its own country, whose interests it expresses and upholds. But this is what international communist solidarity is based on. As distinct from the ineradicable, as Lenin put it, difference of interests among the exploiters who fight for profits, markets and spheres of influence, no such differences exist among the working people of all countries; their interests and aspirations are the same. On the other hand, it is obvious that the more influential a Communist Party is in its own country, the greater can be its contribution to the struggle for the common goals of the Communists in the international arena.

True, one can hear people ask sometimes whether proletarian internationalism is still valid or whether it has become obsolete. Others fear that behind calls to strengthen internationalist ties uniting Communists, there is a desire to re-create some kind of an organizational centre.

These apprehensions are strange indeed. As far as it is known, nobody and nowhere is proposing the idea of establishing such a centre. As for proletarian internationalism, that is, the solidarity of the working class and of Communists in all countries in their struggle for common goals, their solidarity with the struggle for national liberation and social progress, the voluntary cooperation of fraternal Parties, with the equality and respective independence strictly observed, we think that this kind of comradely solidarity which Communists have held aloft for more than a century has lost none of its great significance to this day. It has been and remains a formidable and tested weapon of the Com-

munist Parties and of the working-class movement in general.

Incidentally, the actions of our common class enemy, the international bourgeoisie, offer no few examples of international coordination of their efforts in the struggle against revolutionary forces. Wherever the exploiting system is in jeopardy, wherever the forces of national and social liberation, the democratic forces gain the upper hand in the struggle, imperialism makes truly feverish efforts to coordinate its counterattacks. There are many examples of this today in Europe, Africa and elsewhere.

Now that prospects of the participation of Communists in governments have appeared in certain West European countries, reactionary forces, especially within the NATO camp, have launched a campaign of open pressure and interference in the internal affairs of these countries. And take note, comrades, what they are against—against the results of general elections. It turns out that the imperialist politicians who talk so much about democracy and freedom are only willing to tolerate both provided their undivided rule is not affected.

In these circumstances it is especially important that here at the Conference we collectively demonstrate our Parties' readiness to contribute to the struggle for achieving the aims we have jointly set.

There is another sphere of our cooperation which deserves special mention. I mean pooling efforts to sum up our revolutionary experience, the further development of the theory of scientific communism, which K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin founded. Each Party contributes to the development of revolutionary theory. This theory, as V. I. Lenin justly pointed out, grows "out of the sum total of

the revolutionary experience and the revolutionary thinking of all countries in the world."

Comrades, the experience the communist movement has accumulated is indeed enormous. It is the experience of building socialism under most varied conditions, which demonstrates both its common laws and the variety of its concrete forms. It is the experience of defending the vital interests of the masses, of mobilizing revolutionary forces, of the struggle for socialism in countries with different levels of development. All this calls for analysis and generalisation, for in the experience of each fraternal party, apart from unique and specific features which are related to national peculiarities, there are common features that are of interest to our entire movement. Life itself constantly adds something new to the objective social, political and economic processes in individual countries and on a world scale, to the struggle to attain our common goals.

While greatly attentive to the creative work of our comrades in the communist family, we believe that only practical experience can be the criterion for judging whether one or another concept is right or wrong. But before practice passes its final verdict, it is possible and indeed necessary to evaluate these concepts in a comradely discussion, through comparing the viewpoints and experience of various Parties. It is obviously theory, practice and our common cause that will stand to gain.

Presumably, multilateral meetings convened from time to time for exchanging information and opinions on one or another topical political issue would also be useful.

Comrades, Communists do not confine themselves

to the limits of their movement. They are always ready to join their efforts with the efforts of all who cherish peace and the interests of the peoples. The Final Act of the All-European Conference has laid a fine basis for safeguarding peace and security in Europe. Not only government efforts, but popular action is needed to achieve this aim, to make detente irreversible and peace truly lasting.

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We must do everything to make people aware that their vital interests demand active support for initiatives and actions that promote peace, security and cooperation. This, we think, is one of the most important tasks now facing Communists, one of the most important tasks facing every fraternal Party and all of them together. We believe, comrades, that our Conference can and should play a substantial role in this noble effort.

Here at the meeting of Communist Parties of Europe, discussion naturally first centres on the situation in Europe. At the same time, our draft document gives a good deal of space to the interconnection between the struggle for peace and social progress on the continent and the struggle for peace and social progress in other areas of the world. And this is only natural. Socialism, as the founders of our theory foresaw, has become an objective condition and an urgent necessity for humanity's further progress.

We are working for peace and security throughout the world. From this platform we extend our warm greetings to all participants in the national liberation movement and declare again our invariable support for their just struggle for the freedom, independence and progressive development of their countries.

The Asian, African and Latin American peoples are undoubtedly increasing their contribution to the cause of peace and progress. Socialism has already struck deep root in many countries which have thrown off imperialism's colonial yoke and which have embarked on free and independent development. The non-alignment movement, which we all know, plays a considerable role in international life.

The Conference's document we have agreed upon expresses Communists' readiness to help establish a new and just world economic order. The struggle for equal political and economic relations and co-operation between the developed countries and the former colonial and dependent countries—relations which have long been established between the latter and the socialist states—is an important part of our Parties' common international responsibility.

Comrades, respect for the views of each participant, the democratic and genuinely comradely atmosphere in which the discussion took place, the extensive comparison of the experience of various Parties, and friendly attention to the partners' interests have enabled all of us to arrive at common assessments and conclusions on several topical issues greatly important today for the peoples of Europe and the world. We have been able to draw up an important document on these issues, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

I should like to stress that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards this document as binding on our Party to wage a vigorous and persistent struggle for the aims collectively set by European Communists.

And we are certain that the results of our Con-

ference, which has held high the banner of unity of European Communists, will contribute to pooling our efforts, to stimulating our joint struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for democracy and socialism, and for a lasting peace in Europe.

Thank you, comrades, for your attention.

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 Central Committee;

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;

Romanian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, 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 Labour, 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 Husák, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Turkey, headed by Comrade I. Bilen, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Comrade János Kádár, 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 the 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 favour 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 towards 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 outstand-

ing since World War II, have been resolved through negotiation; 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; fulfilment 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 Francoism 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 Kampuchea over the imperialist aggressors and domestic reaction. These victories are of world-wide 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 Tomé, 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 towards 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 towards gaining acceptance for the principles of peaceful coexistence and is exerting an ever greater influence on international relations, the socialist countries are playing an outstanding 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-monopolist 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 towards 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 a 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 recreate 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 favouring social progress. They are of the opinion that the ever more comprehensive im-

plementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, especially—concerning Europe—of the principles contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, creates favourable 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 favourable conditions of struggle for the movements for democratic and socialist transformation in the capitalist countries. It creates more favourable conditions for carrying out the programmes 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 towards détente and the strengthening of security and towards 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 so-

cialism. The struggle of each Party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility towards 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 towards 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 democratic freedoms. These forces are conducting campaigns 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 towards 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 defence 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 Détente by Taking Effective Measures Towards Disarmament and Towards 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 towards 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 towards 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 intergovernmental 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 towards ending the arms race and towards 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 emigrés.

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 towards 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 steady democratic development and the regeneration of the country, and for the defence 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 racialist 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 defence 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 endeavour 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-favoured-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 favourable 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 fulfilment 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 Kampuchea in their endeavours 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 perpetrated 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 towards 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 attainment 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.

AT THE POLITBUREAU OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

**ON THE RESULTS OF THE BERLIN
CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF EUROPE**

Having considered the report of the CPSU delegation led by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Brezhnev on the work of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in Berlin on June 29-30, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee fully and entirely approves the delegation's work and believes that the holding and the results of the Conference are an important contribution to the cause of the struggle for a Europe of peace, security, cooperation and social progress.

The document unanimously adopted by the Con-

ference is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and contains the joint appraisals and conclusions of the Communist and Workers' Parties with respect to a number of urgent problems that are of tremendous importance for the peoples of Europe and the whole world. The working class, the broad masses of working people and the peoples of Europe have been given an orientation which will enable them to intensify their struggle for an end to the arms race, a strengthening of the process of relaxation of international tension, and for their vital interests.

The achievement of the goals outlined by the Conference requires concerted actions by Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive, democratic forces in Europe. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will wage a vigorous and persistent struggle for the attainment of these goals.

The Conference was held in an international situation in which the principle of peaceful coexistence has become the leading trend in the relations between states. At the same time the Conference took full note of the fact that various enemies of a relaxation of tension have become more active, that the arms race is continuing and even intensifying in a number of capitalist states and seats of military threat still exist.

The Conference has clearly pointed out the main revolutionary forces—the socialist states, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement—capable, together with all the democratic, peace-loving forces, of overcoming the resistance of the reactionaries and averting a new world war.

The Conference has demonstrated that the struggle for peace is inseparably linked with the struggle

for social progress, and has displayed the common determination of the Parties participating in the Conference to uphold the cause of democracy and socialism with account taken of the situation and national traditions in various countries and the general laws of social development.

Of immense importance are the points contained in the document adopted by the Conference concerning the need "to isolate and overcome anti-communism", and the struggle against the forces which launch campaigns against the Communist Parties and socialist countries, starting with the Soviet Union, and against the forces of socialism and progress.

The Communists of Europe stress that they reject any policy or world outlook that amounts to placing the working class in a position of subordination to the capitalist system, and that the Communist Parties will develop internationalist cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Conference has become a factor in the strengthening of contacts between the fraternal parties on the European continent, and in the development of internationalist cooperation among the fraternal parties on the basis of generally accepted norms of relations among them.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee expresses confidence that the Soviet people, by their creative labour in building communist society, will continue to make their contribution to the common internationalist cause of the communist movement, of all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, the cause of struggle for peace, the security of nations, democracy and socialism.

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ЗА МИР, БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ, СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО
И СОЦИАЛЬНЫЙ ПРОГРЕСС В ЕВРОПЕ

Берлин, 29-30 июня 1976 года

на английском языке

Цена 8 коп.

