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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 7 July 1976 from the Permanent Representative
of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

A Conference of 29 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe took place in the capital of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin, on 29 and 30 June 1976. The representatives of these Parties exchanged their views on a limited range of questions relating to the struggle for peace, security, co-operation and social progress in Europe.

On instructions of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, the host country, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the document of this Conference in English and Russian.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the above-mentioned document circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 32 of the preliminary list of items to be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-first session.

(Signed) Peter FLORIN
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs
Permanent Representative of the
German Democratic Republic
to the United Nations

* A/31/50.

ANNEX

For peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe

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

Communist party of Belgium, headed by comrade Jean Terfve, Vice-Chairman of the party;

Bulgarian Communist party, headed by comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist party of Denmark, headed by comrade Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the party;

German Communist party, headed by comrade Herbert Mies, Chairman of the party;

Socialist Unity party of Germany, headed by comrade Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist party of Finland, headed by comrade Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the party;

French Communist party, headed by comrade Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the party;

Communist party of Greece, headed by comrade Harilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist party of Great Britain, headed by comrade Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the party;

Communist party of Ireland, headed by comrade Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the party;

Italian Communist party, headed by comrade Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the party;

League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by comrade Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the party;

Communist party of Luxembourg, headed by comrade Dominique Urbany, Chairman of the party;

Communist party of the Netherlands, headed by comrade Henk Hoekstra, Chairman of the party;

Communist party of Norway, headed by comrade Martin Gunnar Knutsen, Chairman of the party;

Communist party of Austria, headed by comrade Franz Muhri, Chairman of the party;

Polish United Workers' party, headed by comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Portuguese Communist party, headed by comrade Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the party;

Romanian Communist party, headed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the party;

San Marino Communist party, headed by comrade Ermenegildo Gasperoni, Chairman of the party;

Left party-Communists of Sweden, headed by comrade Lars Werner, Chairman of the party;

Swiss party of 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 Husak, 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 Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Socialist Unity party of West Berlin, headed by comrade Erich Ziegler, deputy Chairman of the party;

Progressive party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), headed by comrade Christos Petas, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee.

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

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

They state with all clarity that the policy of peaceful coexistence, active cooperation between states irrespective of their social systems, and international detente 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 detente and the normalization and all-round development of new relations and cooperation between states and peoples.

On this basis a new situation has also emerged in Europe. Important problems which poisoned the international atmosphere, including some outstanding since World War two, 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 detente 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 Tome, the Cape Verde Islands and Angola, which brings nearer the overthrow of the racist regimes in Southern Africa, and also the struggle of all the other liberation movements for the complete liquidation of colonialism represent a major contribution to the cause of peace and security.

The failure of the imperialist blockade against Cuba, the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the normalization of relations with the GDR by a large number of countries have gone a long way 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 detente.

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, detente 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 detente.

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 detente, 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 detente. At the same time, they stress that world peace is by no means guaranteed as yet, that detente 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 detente 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, detente, 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 detente to be an important contribution to the creation of international conditions favouring social progress. They are of the opinion that the ever more comprehensive implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, especially - concerning Europe - of the principles contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, creates favourable conditions

for the full independence and the selfdetermined 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 detente 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 socialism. 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 Communist 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 detente 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 detente 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 detente 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 detente, 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 detente.

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 emigres.

They reject any attempt at continuing the policy of Francoism in whatever form and call on the democratic and progressive forces in Europe to step up their active and concrete solidarity with all anti-fascist forces in Spain in their struggle for democracy and freedom. A democratic Spain, freed once and for all from all vestiges of fascism, is a vital necessity for security and progress in Europe.

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

The participants in the conference welcome the progressive development taking place in the new Portugal, which was liberated from fascism on 25 April 1974. They support every step 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 consistent democratic development, for 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 Communist 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 actions:

- 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 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 detente in other parts of the world, and for the struggle of the peoples against neocolonialism 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 neocolonialism 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 achievements of modern science and techno-

lobby; 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, detente 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 peaceloving 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 detente 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.
