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LETTER DATED 8 DECEMBER 1966 ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION  
OF AMERICAN STATES

In accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations and pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Council of the Organization of American States at its meeting on 25 November last, which was transmitted to you on 1 December, I have the honour to transmit to you a copy\* of volume II of the report entitled "The First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference and its Projections (Tricontinental Conference of Havana)" (document OEA/Ser.G/IV/C-1-769, Rev., Vol. II) with the request that it be circulated in the same manner as volume I of the report.

Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) José A. MORÁ  
Secretary General

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\* Only a limited number of copies of the report in English, French and Spanish will be available.



**REPORT  
OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY RESOLUTIONS II.1 AND VIII  
OF THE EIGHTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**ON THE**

**FIRST AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE  
AND ITS PROJECTIONS  
( "Tricontinental Conference of Havana" )**

**New Instrument of Communist Intervention and Aggression**

**VOLUME II**

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I. DOCUMENTS OF THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE

**AGENDA OF THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE<sup>1/</sup>****I. Fight against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism**

1. **Support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the North American imperialist aggressions, and for the liberation of South Viet-Nam, and the reunification of all the country.**
2. **Struggle for complete national liberation, people's right to self-determination, consolidation of independence and national sovereignty in the three continents, and against imperialist aggression, subversive conspiracies, interference in the internal affairs of independent countries and isolation of the peoples who fight for peace and independence.**
3. **Intensification of all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle of the peoples of the three continents against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism led by North American imperialism.**
4. **Support to the just struggle of the Cuban people against North American imperialism and for the defense of national sovereignty. Support to the patriotic fight of Latin American peoples against imperialism and its instruments, such as the OAS.**
5. **Elimination of foreign military bases in the three continents and measures against the policy of military pacts.**
6. **Struggle for the prohibition of the use, production, experimentation and storing of nuclear arms, for the total destruction of the nuclear arms already made, for the elimination of all means to produce them, and for world peace.**
7. **Measures against Apartheid and racial segregation; support to the negro people of the United States in their struggle for the right to equality and freedom and against all forms of discrimination and racism.**
8. **Ways and means to help the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America in general and specifically the armed struggle for liberation.**

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1. English version published by the Tricontinental Conference, in Havana.

II. Urgent problems of the anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of the three continents and particularly in Viet-Nam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the Portuguese colonies, South Rhodesia, Southern Arabia and Palestine, Laos, Cambodia, South Africa, Korea, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, Cyprus, Panama, South West Africa, and North Kalimantan.

III. Anti-imperialist solidarity among the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' in the economic, social and cultural aspects

1. For the economic emancipation and social and cultural liberation of the peoples of the three continents:
  - a. Start of an action intended to attain and consolidate the economic emancipation of the countries of the three continents and struggle against exploitation and economic aggression of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.
  - b. Steps to eradicate in the economic, social and cultural fields the consequences of colonial domination.
  - c. Actions against the blockade policy and economic boycott applied by imperialism to the countries that struggle for their liberation and to the countries which have achieved it.
  - d. Economic planning and mobilization of the natural and human resources for the economic development and achievement of a real economic independence based on self-reliance.
  - e. Agrarian reform in the three continents.
  - f. Problems related to the formation of national cadres.
2. For the development of economic, social and cultural relations:
  - a. Aid and cooperation among the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the economic, social and cultural fields.
  - b. Fundamental principles of economic and technical cooperation among the countries of the three continents based on equality and mutual interest.
  - c. Bases of a new economic policy among the peoples of the three continents and the rest of the world; establishment of economic, commercial and financial relations with the advanced countries on such bases that will allow our own development.

- d. Working out of a definition of the specific co-existence concept common to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
  3. Co-ordination of the activities of the workers, students, women and cultural organizations of the three continents.
- IV. Political unification and Organizations of the African, Asian and Latin American efforts in their common struggle for national liberation.

OFFICIAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS ACCREDITED TO THE CONFERENCE,  
PUBLISHED BY THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

[Photocopy of the Spanish document published by the Tricontinental  
Conference, in Havana.]

**PRIMERA CONFERENCIA DE SOLIDARIDAD DE LOS PUEBLOS  
DE AFRICA, ASIA Y AMÉRICA LATINA  
ENERO DE 1966**

**RELACION DE PARTICIPANTES ACREDITADOS  
HASTA ENERO 10 DE 1966, "AÑO DE LA SOLIDARIDAD"**

**OFICINA DE CREDENCIALES**

**Esta lista ha sido confeccionada de acuerdo con las planillas de inscripcion recibidas en la Oficina de Credenciales hasta el día 10 de enero de 1966.**

**Para cualquier modificacion o aclaración acerca de la misma, debe recurrirse a la mencionada Oficina de Credenciales.**

PRIMERA CONFERENCIA DE SOLIDARIDAD DE LOS PUEBLOS  
DE AFRICA, ASIA Y AMERICA LATINA  
ENERO DE 1966

DELEGADOS.

Africa.  
Asia.  
América Latina.

PAISES	ORGANIZACIONES	ACREDITADOS
28	25	250
27	27	197
27	27	265
82	83	512
TOTAL:		

OBSERVADORES.

Organizaciones Internacionales.  
Organizaciones Afro-Asiáticas.  
Organizaciones Africanas.  
Organizaciones Asiáticas.  
Países Socialistas.

1	24
1	1
3	8
3	5
3	21
23	14
TOTAL:	

INVITADOS.

Extranjeros.  
Cubanos.

23	50
1	21
24	77
38	129
TOTAL:	

PRENSA EXTRANJERA.

Total Participantes Acreditados:

782

PRIMERA CONFERENCIA DE SOLIDARIDAD DE LOS PUEBLOS  
DE AFRICA, ASIA Y AMÉRICA LATINA  
ENERO DE 1966

Raul Roa García  
Presidente.  
Youssef El Sebti  
Secretario General.  
John Kofitelegah  
Vice-Presidente.  
Pedro Moana Silva  
Vice-Presidente.  
Tien Nguyen Van  
Vice-Presidente.

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRES DELEGADOS	TOTAL
1	AFRICA DEL SUR	<u>Congreso Nacional Africano del Sur.</u>	
		1.- Alfred Biliya Kgekong (Presidente)	1
		2.- Reginald September.	2
		3.- Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo.	3
		4.- Nziakulu Ambrose Makivane. (SP)	4
		5.- Thomas Titus Mbebi.	5
		6.- Robert Rusha.	6
		7.- Joyce Judith Mbonwa (S.F.)	7
		8.- Marie Mthethu Pragalathan Maicker.	8
9.- Meinrad Echimang.	9		
2	AFRICA SUROES- TE	<u>Unión Nacional del Suroeste de Africa. (SWANU).</u>	
		1.- Japiranda Mafengizi. (Presidente)	10
		2.- Moses K. Butjanegea.	11
3	ANGOLA	<u>Movimiento Popular de Liberación de An- gola. (M.P.L.A.)</u>	
		1.- Luis Antrazo de Acevedo. (Presidente)	12
		2.- Miguel Baya Antonio (S.P.)	13
		3.- Luis de Almeida.	14
		4.- Paulo Venancio Jorge.	15
		5.- Spencer Nicodem.	16
		6.- José César Augusto.	17
		7.- Daniel Da Costa Garcia.	18
8.- Mario de Andrade.	19		
4	ARGELIA	<u>Comité Argelino de Solidaridad Afro- Asiática. (FLK).</u>	
		1.- Lakhdar Brahimi (Presidente)	20
		2.- Hamid Bencherchali.	21
		3.- Adda Benguetat.	22
		4.- Mohamed Bariche.	23
		5.- Ahmed Zemirline.	24
		6.- Mohamed Meghremi.	25
7.- Abderrahmane Ghovani.	26		
5	ARGENTINA	<u>Comité Argentino para la Conferencia de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America- Latina.</u>	
		1.- John Williams Cooke. (Presidente)	27
		2.- Alicia de la Peña.	28
		3.- Carlos Alberto Laffargue.	29
		4.- Jorge Riquelme Quiroga.	30
5.- Juan Manuel Sarmar.	31		

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACIÓN - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
	ARGENTINA (Cont.)	6.- Abel Alexia Lezandokf. 7.- José Gabriel González Uliua.	32 33
6	BASUTOLANDIA	<u>Partido del Congreso de Basutolandia.</u> 1.- Gerard Kemorebola. (Presidente) 2.- Konyama Chakela. 3.- Konyama Chakela.	34 35 36
7	BESCHUANALAN- DIA	<u>Partido del Pueblo de Botsuana.</u> 1.- Peto. (Presidente) 2.- Maby Maby.	37 38
8	BOLIVIA	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa,- Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Mario Miranda Pacheco (Presidente.) 2.- Gabriel Percei Salazar. 3.- Mario Nave.	39 40 41
9	BRASIL	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa,- Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Alvaro Pabone Fedreira Ferreira. (Presidente.) 2.- Marcos Santos. 3.- Carlos Tavares. 4.- Carlos Tavares. 5.- Luiz Manoel Ribeiro. 6.- Sebastião Barreira. 7.- Alberto Luis Guspe de Paulo.	42 43 44 45 46 47 48
10	BURUNDI	<u>Federación de Trabajadores de Burundi.</u> 1.- Evariste Ndayishimiye. (Presidente)	49
11	CAMBODIA	<u>Sol. de la Juventud de Camboya.</u> 1.- Hout Samnol. (Presidente.) 2.- Hout Samnol. 3.- Hout Samnol. 4.- Hout Samnol. 5.- Hout Samnol.	50 51 52 53 54
12	COLOMBIA	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa,- Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Diego Mariana Ospina. (Presidente) 2.- Inés Pinto Escobar. 3.- Santiago Solarte. 4.- Camilo José Campes. 5.- Baltasar Fernández Alvarez. 6.- Teodoro Varela Acosta.	55 56 57 58 59 60
13	CONGO (B)	<u>Comité Revolucionario Nacional del Con- go.</u> 1.- Julien Gondjiko (Presidente) 2.- Gustave Abe Gondjiko. 3.- Henriette Yabou. 4.- Dominique Ntumba.	61 62 63 64
14	CONGO (L)	<u>Consejo Nacional de Liberación Congo.</u> 1.- Gabriel Yumbu. (Presidente). 2.- Nkumu Camille. 3.- Kaputata Bernadette. 4.- Kibanga Kibanga.	65 66 67 68

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACIÓN - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
	CONGO (L) (Cent.)	5.- Kamana Sébastien. 6.- Malaza Mervette. 7.- Mongali Michel. 8.- Edward Marcel Samba. 9.- Baku Masaku. 10.- Martin Egeboy. 11.- Jean Eli.	69 70 71 72 73 74 75
15	COREA	<u>Comité Coreano para la Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u> 1.- Kwi Byong Kim. (Presidente.) 2.- Ki Sun Jom. 3.- Chang Nam Kim. 4.- Byon Yoi Kim. 5.- Yu Yul Li. 6.- Yung Wok Kim. 7.- Ye Jion Chon. 8.- Kwang Chul Jun.	76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83
16	COSTA RICA	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de - Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, - Asia y América Latina.</u> 1.- Arnaldo Ferrero. (Presidente.) 2.- Heróna Monterrosa López. 3.- Luis González Gutiérrez.	84 85 86
17	CUBA	<u>Partido Comunista de Cuba. (PCC).</u> 1.- Gumery Cienfuegos (Presidente.) 2.- Raúl Foa. 3.- Manuel Piñero. 4.- Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. 5.- Miguel Martín. 6.- José Alberto Moránjo. 7.- Lázaro Soto. 8.- Raydel Sursumarfa. 9.- Jesús Neutano Oropesa. 10.- Lázaro Pena. 11.- José Matar. 12.- José Benítez. 13.- Carlos Lechuga. 14.- Pelegrín Ferras. 15.- Arnel Rodríguez. 16.- Juan Misa Febres. 17.- Reiba Hernández. 18.- Giraldo Múzela. 19.- Eugenio F. Buiardi. 20.- Jenquifa Más. 21.- Lázaro Mora. 22.- Eduardo Delgado. 23.- Ramón Sánchez Parodi. 24.- Carlos Alfaro. 25.- Ricardo Alarcón. 26.- Ferrando Álvarez Tabio. 27.- María García Lechónstegui. 28.- Raúl Velasco Díaz. 29.- Antonio Corralde. 30.- Felipe Serrano. 31.- Armando del algar. 32.- Luis García Guzmán. 33.- Oscar Omas.	87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRAS DELEGADOS	TOTAL
	CUBA (Cont.)	34.- José Venogua.	120
		35.- Rafael Fernández Hoya.	121
		36.- Luis García Poraña.	122
		37.- Francisco Valdés.	123
		38.- Arquides Columbió.	124
		39.- Silvio Rivero.	125
		40.- Roberto Valdés.	126
		41.- Alfredo Guayra.	127
18	CHILE	<u>Frente de Acción Popular. (FRAP).</u>	
		1.- Salvador Allende. (Presidente)	128
		2.- Walde Atlas Martín.	129
		3.- Glodoniro Almeyda Madina.	130
		4.- Elena Pedraza.	131
		5.- Luis Figueroi.	132
		6.- Manuel Rojas.	133
		7.- Valterio Fierro.	134
		8.- Jorge Montes Moraga.	135
		9.- Oscar Núñez Bravo.	136
19	CHINA	<u>Comité Chino para la Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u>	
		1.- Wu Hsueh Tsien. (Presidente.)	137
		2.- Tien Min Kuo.	138
		3.- Se Tien Yang.	139
		4.- Ming Sin Tang.	140
		5.- Chan An You.	141
		6.- Yao Yao Ching Jung.	142
		7.- So Yang. (S.P.)	143
		8.- Hong Liang. (S.P.)	144
		9.- Tu Tai Tsien.	145
		10.- Au Jou Hsu.	146
		11.- Tu Ansh Shang.	147
		12.- Yi Cheng Jung.	148
		13.- Ning Juan Tang.	149
		14.- Tien Sai Char.	150
		15.- Yuan Lung Tao.	151
		16.- Yang Fai Fing.	152
		17.- Tsien Li Jen.	153
		18.- Wang Chen Cheng.	154
		19.- Chau Yea Yin.	155
		20.- Chang Chieh Hsun.	156
		21.- Chen Yu.	157
		22.- Chen Chuan Liao.	158
		23.- Chu Tzu Chi.	159
		24.- Run Ho Sien.	160
		25.- Chang Lin Yu.	161
		26.- Tuang Hai Yeh.	162
		27.- Yu Ying Liu.	163
		28.- Fui Yi Li.	164
		29.- Chi Fan Wuang.	165
		30.- Shen Yi.	166
		31.- Chen Sheng Huang.	167
		32.- Shou Pao Li.	168
		33.- Yun Chun Li.	169
		34.- Chen Lo Min.	170
20	CHIPRE	<u>Comité de Solidaridad de Chipre.</u>	
		1.- Christoforos Christofides. (Presidente)	171
		2.- Joseph Yanakis.	172
		3.- Georgios Savyides.	173

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRES DELEGADOS	TOTAL
21	ECUADOR	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, - Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Carlos Ruzafa Ortiz. (Presidente) 2.- Teodoro Aray.	174 175
22	EL SALVADOR	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, - Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Sergio Pérez. (Presidente) 2.- Pedro Martínez.	176 177
23	GHANA	<u>Convención del Partido del Pueblo.</u> 1.- John Kofitettegah (Presidente). 2.- Nathaniel Azarco Welbeck. 3.- Winfre Asare Brown. 4.- Yan Nana. 5.- Kon Bondzie Brown. 6.- Pauline Miranda Clerk. 7.- George Awoner Williams. 8.- Ofori- Bah Emmanuel. 9.- Patrick Cfei Hanaicu. 10.- Kofi Batsa. 11.- Charles L. Patterson. 12.- Dr. Ekow Daniels. 13.- Kwamina Arku-Nelson (S.P.) 14.- Cecil Mc. Hardy. 15.- Anthony Korsah Dick.	178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192
24	GUADALUPE	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, - Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Gerard Olesier (Presidente) 2.- Guy Davinthe. 3.- Aude Daniel Bens. 4.- Michal Numa.	193 194 195 196
25	GUATEMALA	<u>Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes. (FAR.).</u> 1.- Luis Augusto Turcios Lima. (Presidente) 2.- Gustavo Solares Ortiz. 3.- René Gordon. 4.- Orlando Fernández Ruiz. 5.- Francisco Narroquib.	197 198 199 200 201
26	GUAYANA	<u>Partido Popular Progresista. (PPP)</u> 1.- Cheddi Jagan. (Presidente.) 2.- Lall Bahadur. 3.- Joseph Rodriguez.	202 203 204
27	GUAYANA-CA YENA.	<u>Comité Guayanés de Solidaridad a la Primera Conferencia de los 3 Continentes.</u> 1.- Regine Provot. (Presidente.) 2.- Jean Marie Robe. 3.- Georges Giffard.	205 206 207
28	GUINEA	<u>Partido Democrático de Guinea.</u> 1.- Abdoulaye Dialle. (Presidente) 2.- Fodé Cassé. (SP) 3.- Mamady Mohamed Sakho. 4.- Mami Kouyate. 5.- Ibrahima Kourouma. 6.- Fanta Conde. 7.- Jean Baptiste Dean.	208 209 210 211 212 213 214

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
29	GUINEA (Llanada Portuguesa.)	<u>Partido Africano de Independencia.</u>	
		1.- Amílcar Cabral. (Presidente.)	215
		2.- Vasco Cabral.	216
		3.- Pedro Birus.	217
		4.- Domingo Soares.	218
5.- Joaquim Pedro D. Silva.	219		
30	HAITI	<u>Frente Democrático Efficaz de Liberación Nacional.</u>	
		1.- Paul Caplan. (Presidente.)	220
		2.- Jacques Lesbon.	221
		3.- Pigeon Gouge.	222
		4.- Leslie Jean.	223
5.- Edmond Pierre.	224		
31	HONDURAS	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America Latina.</u>	
		1.- Ricardo Noriega Zetala. (Presidente.)	225
		2.- Paul Farrel.	226
3.- Longino Vidal Escorza.	227		
32	INDIA	<u>Asociación India para la Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u>	
		1.- Aruna Asaf Ali. (Presidente.)	228
		2.- Balram Sarashwati Das.	229
		3.- Homi F. Daji Amli.	230
		4.- Prabhakar Moran.	231
		5.- Jagannath Sharma.	232
		6.- Ladi Saran Sarda.	233
		7.- Sat Tandon.	234
		8.- Harshan Singh.	235
		9.- Balraj Mehta.	236
		10.- Chelva Kamin Kalviya. (SP)	237
		11.- Arjun Chatterjee, Chair.	238
		12.- Mohammad Kalamullah.	239
		13.- Moar Mohamed.	240
14.- Chandie Shekhar.	241		
33	INDONESIA	<u>Asociación de Solidaridad de los Pueblos Afro-Asiáticos.</u>	
		1.- Ibrahim Ysa. (Presidente) (SP)	242
		2.- Francisca Sanggidaej.	243
		3.- Willy Surianta.	244
		4.- Umer Said.	245
		5.- Subardjo.	246
		6.- Sosdhartono.	247
		7.- Edy Soenardji.	248
		8.- Sugiri.	249
9.- Margono.	250		
34	IRAN	<u>Comité Iranio para la Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u>	
		1.- Amir Hamed Amir Dibadj Torkestani. (Presidente.)	251
2.- Bahaman Mader Zehtab.	252		
35	IRAQ	<u>Comité Iraquí de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u>	
1.- Aboul Wahab Sallom. (Presidente) (SP)	253		

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACIÓN - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
36	ISLA MAURICIO.	<u>Partido Progresista del Pueblo Mauricio.</u> 1.- Testarosa Sibourva. (Presidente.)	254
37	ISLA SANTO-TOMAS Y PRINCIPE.	<u>Comité por la Liberación de Santo Tomás y Príncipe.</u> 1.- Antonio Carrete Pires Dos Santos. (Presidente.)	255
38	JAMAICA	<u>Comité Nacional de Solidaridad para la - Conferencia de los Pueblos de Africa, - Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Beaulia Daly (Presidente.) 2.- Roy Jeffrey Adairpapas.	256 257
39	JAPON	<u>Comité Japonés de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u> 1.- Saitama Kai. (Presidente.) 2.- Hiroshi Ide. 3.- Toshiro Tanaka. 4.- Kitayhiro Kaneko. 5.- Masao Kitayawa (SP) 6.- Susumu Ozaki. 7.- Shosaku Itai. 8.- Yoro Ohno. 9.- Akira Fushina. 10.- Yoko Sitarawa. (SF)	258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267
40	JORDANIA	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática de - Jordania.</u> 1.- Shafik Shafik (Presidente.)	268
41	KALIMATAN DEL NORTE	<u>Organización de Kalimantan del Norte para la Solidaridad de los Pueblos Afro-Asiáticos, Indonesia.</u> 1.- Ahmad Zaidi Aducci. (Presidente.) 2.- Muhammad Jais Abbas. 3.- Muhammad Kasim. 4.- Dus Tan Chon. 5.- Ahmad Nektar.	269 270 271 272 273
42	KENYA	<u>Unión Nacional Africana de Kenya (KANU).</u> 1.- Jehu Kbiye Ejonjo. (Presidente.) 2.- James Sobaro Mwanjilian. 3.- Ernest Gitu Muni.	274 275 276
43	LAOS	<u>Kao-Laos Halcet.</u> 1.- Phoumi Vongvichit. (Presidente.) 2.- Soulivong Phrasithideth. 3.- Phouthasuck Khanleck. 4.- Thanavongsay Boun Nhus. 5.- Khaaphay Boupha.	277 278 279 280 281
44	LIBANO	<u>Partido Socialista Progresista.</u> 1.- Farid Gabrara. (Presidente.) 2.- George Salla Batal. 3.- Mouhamed Kuchli. 4.- Georges Etoul.	282 283 284 285
45	MALAYA	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática del Pueblo Malayo.</u> 1.- Lee Siew Choo. (Presidente.) 2.- Abdul Hamid Sarin. 3.- Chia Thye Pak.	286 287 288

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
46	MARTINICA	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Edouard De Lepine. (Presidente.) 2.- Marcel Manville.	289 290
47	MARRUECOS	<u>Unión Nacional de las Fuerzas Populares.</u> 1.- Hassid Barrada. (Presidente.) 2.- Mohamed Habib Sinaceur. 3.- Mohamed Ezzua Sahi.	291 292 293
48	MEXICO	<u>Movimiento de Liberación Nacional. (MLN)</u> 1.- Roberto Castillo. (Presidente.) 2.- Armando Castillejos Ortiz. 3.- Manuel Mesa Andraca. 4.- María Antonieta Rascon Córdoba. 5.- Antonio Tenorio Adame. 6.- Salvador B. Jorquez.	294 295 296 297 298 299
49	MONGOLIA	<u>Comité Científico de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u> 1.- Chadraval Lodoidamba. (Presidente.) 2.- Muzrad Bayarja. 3.- Damba Wulamy. 4.- Pountang Berentsedol. 5.- Narhee Tsagtyn. 6.- Kamsarain Sodnom. 7.- Bedarza B. Galto.	300 301 302 303 304 305 306
50	MOZAMBIQUE	<u>Frente de Liberación de Mozambique (FRELIMO)</u> 1.- Marcelino Dos Santos. (Presidente.) 2.- Eugenio Machado. 3.- Mariano Matsinza. 4.- Pascoal Mhapulo. 5.- Jesina Chibater Muthemba. 6.- Madateka Singo Juvangire.	307 308 309 310 311 312
51	NEPAL	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u> 1.- Poorna Bahadur. (Presidente.)	313
52	NICARAGUA	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America Latina.</u> 1.- Pedro Ruiz. (Presidente.) 2.- José Pedro Rivera. 3.- José López Rivera.	314 315 316
53	NIGER	<u>Partido Savaba.</u> 1.- Abdoulaye Mamani. (Presidente.)	317
54	NIGERIA	<u>Congreso de Juventudes de Nigeria, Partido -- Socialista de Campesinos y Obreros de Nigeria.</u> 1.- Wahab Omorilewa Goodluck. (Presidente.) 2.- Salomón Olaleye Fagbo. 3.- Elías Dupe Fadipe. 4.- Johnson Ebohom.	318 319 320 321
55	OMAN	<u>Oficina de Omán.</u> 1.- Faisal Faisal. (Presidente.)	322

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
56	PAKISTAN	<u>Comité Pakistano de Solidaridad con los Pueblos Afro-asiáticos.</u>	
		1.- Maulana Aboul Kalam Khan Bhasani. (Presidente.)	323
		2.- Itaz S. Satt.	324
		3.- Arif Iftikhar.	325
		4.- Qamaruz Zaman Sidiq.	326
		5.- Shaouk Ehsan.	327
		6.- A.T.M. Mustafa.	328
7.- Miraj Khalic.	329		
57	PALESTINA	<u>Organización para la Liberación de Palestina.</u>	
		1.- Ibrahim Abu Sitta. (Presidente.)	330
		2.- Husni Kheifash Saleh.	331
		3.- Zuhair Bayyan.	332
		4.- Abdul Karim Al Karni.	333
5.- Sala Hedira Sabbagh.	334		
58	PANAMA	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y -- América Latina.</u>	
		1.- Jorge Turner Morales. (Presidente.)	335
		2.- Francisco Gutiérrez.	336
		3.- Roberto Madariaga Montus.	337
4.- Floyd Britton.	338		
59	PARAGUAY	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y -- América Latina.</u>	
		1.- Carlos Valenzuela. (Presidente.)	339
		2.- Héctor Gutiérrez.	340
		3.- Jacinta Correa.	341
		4.- Juan Carlos Alca.	342
5.- Angel Gómez.	343		
60	PENINSULA ARABIGA.	<u>Frente Socialista para la Liberación de la Península Arábiga.</u>	
		1.- Ahmed Jamaluddin Abdulla. (Presidente.)	344
61	PERU	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y -- América Latina.</u>	
		1.- Roberto García Ocurtía. (Presidente.)	345
		2.- Jesús Masa Faredes.	346
		3.- Alberto Ramírez.	347
		4.- Jaime Venegas Romero.	348
		5.- Armanal Pérez Carlo.	349
		6.- Elizardo Sánchez Lomba.	350
		7.- Freddy Eyzaguirre Luque.	351
8.- Jerge Altiriaga Campos.	352		
62	FUERTO RICO	<u>Movimiento Pro-Independencia.</u>	
		1.- Norman Pietro Castellon. (Presidente.)	353
		2.- Ana Livia Cordero.	354
		3.- José Luis González Colisoco.	355
4.- Narciso Rebel Martínez.	356		
63	REP. ARABE UNIDA	1.- Youssaf El Sebati (S.G. OSPAA)	357
		2.- Mohamed Kameel Sabao Eddin (A.S.G. OSPAA)	358
		3.- Morsi Saad Eddin (A.S.G. OSPAA)	359

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
	<b>REP. ARABE UNIDA (Cent.)</b>	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiático (Unión Socialista arabe.)</u>	
		1.- Khaled Fouadidin. (Presidente.)	360
		2.- Sohair El Salamany	361
		3.- Amna Ahmed El Said.	362
		4.- Far El Din Ali Moustafa.	363
		5.- Rifart El Mangoub.	364
		6.- Bahia Karam.	365
		7.- Mohamed Diab.	366
		8.- Sekina Sadat.	367
		9.- Ahmed Makhtar Kopt.	368
		10.- Ragab Rassi El Khely.	369
		11.- Samiha Taher Mustafa.	370
		12.- Ahmed Reda Mohamed Khalifa.	371
		13.- Shebl Hefez Mohamed Shalaby.	372
		14.- Mohamed Wafaey Shulkany.	373
		15.- Mohamed Owda.	374
		16.- Hoda Tawfik.	375
		17.- Louis Grace.	376
		18.- Anis Mansour.	377
		19.- Edward K.F. El Kharrat.	378
		20.- Salah El Sayed.	379
		21.- Hussain Riak.	380
64	<b>REP. DOMINICANA.</b>	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y América Latina.</u>	
		1.- Guido Rafael Gil Díaz. (Presidente.)	381
		2.- Asdrubal Dominguez Gueryero.	382
		3.- Euclides Gutiérrez Félix.	383
		4.- Cayetano A. Rodríguez del Prado.	384
		5.- Carlos H. Amiana Martínez.	385
65	<b>R.D. VIETNAM</b>	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiático R.D.V.</u>	
		1.- Tuyen Tran Danh. (Presidente.)	386
		2.- Nguyen Duy Tinh.	387
		3.- Tuong Tran Cong.	388
		4.- Le Nguyen Thanh.	389
		5.- Con Nguyen La.	390
		6.- Bun Le Quang.	391
		7.- Thang Dang Thi.	392
		8.- Phan Truong Si.	393
		9.- Doan Dinh Ca.	394
		10.- Nguyen Dinh Bin.	395
66	<b>RUANDA</b>	<u>Unión Nacional Ruandesa Burundi.</u>	
		1.- Francois Rubeka. (Presidente.)	396
		2.- Nelsen Nygasore.	397
67	<b>SENEGAL</b>	<u>Partido Africano de la Independencia.</u>	
		1.- Mamadou Keita. (Presidente.)	398
		2.- Thierno Amath Dansoko.	399
		3.- M'Diongue Babacar.	400
68	<b>SIRIA</b>	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u>	
		1.- Moudaf Baftar. (Presidente.)	401
		2.- Morris Salibi.	402
		3.- Mohammad Ali Al Khatib.	403
		4.- Moustapha Amine.	404
		5.- Rifaj Nouri Mohamed.	405
		6.- Mohammad Zoubdi Washashibi.	406
		7.- Ali El Khalil	407
		8.- Joubran Majdalani.	408

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
69	SOMALILANDIA (Djibouti.)	<u>Partido del Haciente Popular.</u> 1.- Ahmed Mubarak Mubarak.	409
70	SUAZILANDIA	<u>Partido Progresista de Suazilandia.</u> 1.- Dlungane Dominic Cain Nxumalo. (Presidente) 2.- Ephelina Mbelele.	410 411
71	SUDAN	<u>Partido Democrático del Pueblo.</u> 1.- Aly Abdel Rahman. (Presidente) 2.- Younis Basherah. 3.- Salimnia Ahmed. 4.- Ali Osman. 5.- Shazali Amir Shazali.	412 413 414 415 416
72	TAILANDIA	<u>Frent. Patriótico de Tailandia.</u> 1.- Bhayone Chulanond. (Presidente.) 2.- Suchart Shumforirak. 3.- Sid Hichai Songkaraksa.	417 418 419
73	TANZANIA	<u>Unión Nacional Africana de Tanganyika.</u> 1.- Salto Kasonu. (Presidente.) 2.- Awanze Sazi. (S.P.) 3.- Mohammed Ali Foum. 4.- Lugo Tugumba. 5.- Ali Mafumba. 6.- Abdullah Said Netepe.	420 421 422 423 424 425
74	TRINIDAD-TO BAGO.	<u>Comité Nacional para la Conferencia de Solid dad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y -- América Latina.</u> 1.- George Jester. (Presidente.) 2.- George Komric.	426 427
75	UGANDA	<u>Congreso del Pueblo de Uganda.</u> 1.- Yousuf Kabungali. (Presidente.) 2.- Ally Mwanza Mwanza Kivejinja. 3.- Paul G. Ogila. 4.- Khabid Yousif Kivevo. 5.- Henry Kibuka.	428 429 430 431 432
76	U.R.S.S.	<u>Comité Soviético de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u> 1.- Sharaf Rashidov. (Presidente.) 2.- Anatoli Sofronov. 3.- Dimitri Gorbachev. 4.- Boris Gorbachev. 5.- Vladimir Judintsev. 6.- Rodolfo Chlapnikov. 7.- Yans Vladimírski. 8.- Timur Gaidar. 9.- Natalia Berejinaia. 10.- Alexey Mayevsky. 11.- Latif Maksoudov. (SP) 12.- Bahadar Abdurazakov. 13.- Chakhan Tiouloubekov. 14.- Vladimir Yarovol. 15.- Mirzo Turkun Zade. 16.- Zinaida Federova. 17.- Rasul Gannatov. 18.- Fikriat Tabetov.	433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRES DELEGADOS	TOTAL
	U.R.S.S. (Cont.)	19.- Dmitri Shviliagin. 20.- Mikhail Kosykh. 21.- Karan Gussatkov. 22.- Bijamal Karazanova. 23.- Tchengis Altantov. 24.- Zouleikha Gussainova. 25.- Grigori Loshin. 26.- Vladimir Iokhtal. 27.- Tcheryshev Vitcheslav. 28.- Sima Panich. 29.- Nikolai Zasenov. 30.- Yasinin Midshev. 31.- Spartak Tsissanov. 32.- Richat Burdachev. 33.- Jouri Bochkarev. 34.- Riourik Beleroutchev. 35.- Victor Boukharkov. 36.- Valeri Soukhina. 37.- Arnold Bobkine. 38.- Mikhail Kozlev. 39.- Valeri Jikharov. 40.- Petr Nicolaeov.	451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472
77	URUGUAY	<u>Frente de Izquierda de Liberación (FIDEL).</u> 1.- Luis Pedro Bonavita Salguero (Presidente). 2.- César Poyes Deglio. 3.- Blanca Silva Collazo Odriozola. 4.- Edundo Torres Nasto. 5.- Rodolfo Arismendi. 6.- Luis Echazú Zas.	473 474 475 476 477 478
78	VENEZUELA	<u>Frente de Liberación Nacional (FLN).</u> 1.- Pedro Medina Silva. (Presidente). 2.- Gilberto López. 3.- Rosendo Hernández Luz. 4.- Ciro Rodríguez. 5.- Atencio Márquez. 6.- Jerónimo Carvera. 7.- José Vicente Abreo. 8.- Eberto Marranz Cuello. 9.- Hector Pérez Marciano. 10.- Omar Cárdenas. 11.- Meises Meleiro. 12.- Oswaldo Barreto. 13.- Jorge Rubio. 14.- Ali González. 15.- Adolfo Casanga.	479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493
79	VIE-TNAM DEL SUR	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática.</u> 1.- Tien Nguyen Van. (Presidente). 2.- Trep Van Tu. 3.- Kim Nguyen H Dang. 4.- Van San Ly. 5.- Cao Le Thi. 6.- Dao Thien Van. 7.- Ba Nguyen Dung.	494 495 496 497 498 499 500
80	YEMEN	<u>Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiática de Yemen</u> 1.- Abdullaz Al-Alawi. (Presidente).	501

No.	PAIS	ORGANIZACION - NOMBRE DELEGADOS	TOTAL
81	YEMEN DEL SUR (Ocupado)	<u>Frente de Liberación Nacional del Yemén del Sur Ocupado.</u>	
		1.- Saif A.S. Wahse. (Presidente.)	502
		2.- Jaffer Ali Awadh.	503
82	ZIMBABWE	<u>Unión del Pueblo Africano de Zimbabue.</u>	
		1.- Edward Sogoye. (Presidente.)	504
		2.- Ethan Allen Dube.	505
		3.- David Spoto.	506
		4.- Charles Muzorewa Madondo.	507
		5.- Angus Mugwanya.	508
		6.- Arthur Muzuka.	509
		7.- Charles M. Kereka.	510
		8.- Nofada Muth-Nako.	511
9.- Nelson P.C. Sontange.	512		

OBSERVADORES

<u>ORGANIZACION Y NOMBRES DE OBSERVADORES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>ORGANIZACIONES INTERNACIONALES</u>	
<u>1- Consejo Mundial de la Paz</u>	
1.- Enrique Lister	1
2.- Alfredo M. P. Valera	2
3.- Omprakash Pallwal	3
4.- Francis Beaton	4
5.- Juan Marinello	5
6.- Angel Dominguez Santomaria	6
7.- William Gollan	7
8.- Oldrich Belic	8
9.- Lucio Mario Sizzatto	9
<u>2- Federación Internacional Democrática de Mujeres</u>	
1.- Florvaco Mephoshe	10
2.- Helga Dickell	11
3.- Vilma Espín	12
<u>3- Federación Mundial de Juventudes Democráticas F.M.J.D.</u>	
1.- Fulgencio Rodríguez Millares	13
2.- Ctibor Citek	14
3.- Rodolfo Mucnini	15
<u>4- Unión Internacional de Estudiantes U.I.E.</u>	
1.- Tran Van An	16
2.- Kwana Otrera	17
3.- Zbysek Vekroshlichy	18
4.- Félix Rodríguez	19
5.- Cándido Domínguez García	20
<u>5- Federación Sindical Mundial F.S.M.</u>	
1.- Satish Chatterjee	21
2.- Mark Uhope	22
3.- José Bustos	23
4.- Renato Bitossi	24
<u>PAISES SOCIALISTAS</u>	
<u>Albania</u>	
<u>6.- Comité Albanés de Solidaridad con los Pueblos de África y Asia</u>	
1.- Foto Cami	25
2.- Sotir Kambori	26
3.- Faik Zanelli	27
4.- Seza! Shyti	28
<u>Bulgaria</u>	
<u>7.- Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiático</u>	
1.- Zdravko Mitovski	29
2.- Elena Gavrilova	30

<u>ORGANIZACION Y NOMBRES DE OBSERVADORES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Checoslovaquia</u>	
<u>8- Comité Checoslovaco de Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Africa y Asia</u>	
1.- Antonia Vavrus	31
2.- Vlastimír Šimek	32
<u>Hungría</u>	
<u>9- Comité Húngaro de Solidaridad con todos los Pueblos que luchan por su Independencia</u>	
1.- Andras Turdos	33
2.- Eva Koltai	34
<u>Polonia</u>	
<u>10- Comité por la Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Africa y Asia</u>	
1.- Wladyslaw Sliwka	35
2.- Josef Kulesza	36
<u>República Democrática Alemana</u>	
<u>11- Comité de Solidaridad Afro-Asiático de la RDA</u>	
1.- Horst Max Brash	37
2.- Edmund Rodner	38
3.- Heterich Eggebrecht	39
4.- Heinz Joswig	40
5.- Siglinda Arkerman	41
6.- Friedel Gagnon	42
7.- Heinz Schmidt	43
<u>Rumanía</u>	
<u>12- Liga Rumana de Amistad con el Pueblo de Asia y Africa</u>	
1.- Mircea Radulescu	44
<u>ORGANIZACIONES AFRO ASIATICAS</u>	
<u>13- Conferencia de Juristas Afro-Asiáticos</u>	
1.- Shih Sheng Chao	45
2.- Hsien Wang	46
3.- Fadiale Keita	47
4.- Wijanto	48
<u>14- Buró Permanente de Escritores Afro-Asiáticos</u>	
1.- Nihal Lakshaman Rathapala	49
2.- Karunesena Jayalath	50
<u>15- Conferencia Afro-Asiática de Periodistas</u>	
1.- Dharmasena Manuweera	51
<u>ORGANIZACIONES AFRICANAS</u>	
<u>16- Organización de los Pueblos de Africa del Suroeste (SWAPO)</u>	
1.- Peter Muashihange	52
2.- Andreas Shipanga	53
3.- Ewald Katjivene	54
4.- Emil Appolus	55

ORGANIZACION Y NOMBRES DE OBSERVADORES	TOTAL
17- <u>Unión Nacional Africana de Zimbabue (ZINU)</u>	
1.- King David Mutasa	56
2.- Simpson Victor Mtshunangwe	57
3.- Augustine Koubeshora	58
18- <u>Federación Sindical Africana</u>	
1.- Prosper Alanni	59
<u>ORGANIZACIONES ASIATICAS</u>	
19- <u>Consejo contra la Bomba Atómica e Hidrógena</u>	
1.- Masaharu Hatanaka	60
20- <u>Buró Económico de Asia</u>	
1.- Samuel Díaz Henderonike	61
2.- Tejo Gurswardhana	62
3.- Peckser Nehidom	63
21- <u>Comité de la Paz de Asia y el Pacífico</u>	
1.- Victor Jones	64

INVITADOS

<b>No.</b>	<b>PAIS</b>	<b>NOMBRE DE INVITADO</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
1	ARGENTINA	Miguel Ángel Rubinich	1
2	BOLIVIA	Juan Carlos Lazcano	2
3	BRASIL	Félix Athayde	3
4	CAMBODIA	Helene Taoutch Vuttai	4
5	COLOMBIA	Marco Tulio Rodríguez Martínez Jorge Zulamez Borda	5 6
6	CONGO (B)	Auguste Mahoungou Alice Mahoungou	7 8
7	CUBA	Antero Regalado Fallón Zenón Euerge Reinaldo Calviac Pedro Montalván Asela de los Santos Radamés Mancozo Aleida March Juan José León Dora Calcaño Francisco Durticós Balser Orlando Rosabal Llanes Oscar Damanach Lupe Véliz Leopoldo Ariza Enrique Veiazco López Félix Sautié Mederos Roberto Ogando Foz Gloria Aguilera Calixto Morales Alejo Carpentier Antonio Núñez Jiménez Rolando Eubelas Nicolás Guillén Salvador Vilaseca Jaime Crombet Justo Guerra Agapito Figueras	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
8	CHECOSLOVAQUIA	Jiri Meisner	36
9	CHILE	Juliana Rojas Luis Eduardo Labarca Goddard Gonzalo Rojas Pizarrón	37 38 39
10	DAHOMY	Codjo Azode;behov	40
11	E.U.A.	Robert Williams Rick Rhoads	41 42

No.	PAIS	NOMBRE DE INV. CADG	TOTAL
12	FRANCIA	León Feix	43
		Josephine Baker	44
		Ives Fernand Moreau	45
		Maria Jules Debray	46
		Madame Volain	47
13	GUATEMALA	Aurora Benítez	48
14	INGLATERRA	Osma Blackburn	49
		Jack Woddis	50
15	ITALIA	Alberto Horavio	51
		Bacia Maraini	52
		Joyce Lussu	53
16	MEXICO	Rafael Estrada Villa	54
		Bianca Muñoz Cota de Tenorio	55
		Adalberto Piliago Galicia	56
		Alberto Ordeña Calabra	57
		Ante T. Córdoba Alvelain	58
		Gilberto Ramón Gallardo	59
		Manuel Stephans García	60
		Manuel Marcos Fardiñas	61
		Arturo Gross	62
Manuel Terrazas Guerrero	63		
17	PARAGUAY	José Asunción Flores	64
		Olivia Romero	65
18	PERU	Wanda Haces Acosta	66
		Mario Vargas Llosa	67
		Patricia Llosa de Vargas	68
19	PUERTO RICO	Heliza Singer de Rabell	69
20	E.A.U.	Mohamed Fayed	70
		Hadia Solficar Salvi	71
21	TANZANIA	Lidia Fouz	72
22	U.R.S.S.	Jursand Rashidova	73
23	URUGUAY	Aida De'Watteis Ventura	74
		María Victoria Espinola Cabrezo	75
24	VENEZUELA	Eleena Sánchez	76
		Elizabeth Burgos	77

PRENSA Extranjera

No.	PAIS	ORGANOS PUBLICITARIOS Y HOMBRAS DE LOS PERIODICAS	TOTAL
1	Alemania Federal	1- <u>Das Andere Deutschland</u> Leonar Veltore	1
2	Argentina	2- <u>Diario El Mundo</u> Juan Lefcovich	2
3	Bélgica	3- <u>Folleto Informativo de Cuba</u> Hugo Rency	3
		4- <u>Le Drogan Recye</u> Hubert Jacob	4
		5- <u>Magazine Europeo</u> Gabriel F. Lamas	5
		Marie Koelle Cloes	6
		Alphonse A. Boosens	7
4	Bulgaria	6- <u>Agencia BTA</u> Todor Stolonov	8
5	Canadá	7- <u>Canadian Tribune</u> Francis Williams Park Libbie Campbell Park	9 10
6	Corea (R.P.)	8- <u>Agencia Central de Corea</u> Choun Tak Zi	11
7	Costa Rica	9- <u>Semanario Libertad</u> Francisco Gamboa Guzmán	12
8	Checoslovaquia	10- <u>Radio-Difusión Checoslovaca</u> David Wolf	13
		11- <u>Agencia CTY</u> Jaroslav Boucek	14
		12- <u>Lyternary Noviny</u> Mrtha Dodd	15
		13- <u>Radio Difusión Praga</u> Vera Stocickova	16
9	Chile	14- <u>Radio Minería</u> Ibar Aibar Veras	17
		15- <u>Las Noticias de Ultima Hora</u> Frida Modak Schatz	18
		16- <u>Periódico El Siglo</u> Adriana Serle	19
10	China	17- <u>Agencia Sinqua</u> Chiu Ling	20
		Ho Ching	21
		Kuang Jen Mu	22
		Chi Shen	23
		Ming Fu Ming	24
		Yi Sue Sou	25
		Shet Chong Hsu	26

No.	PAIS	OPORTUNIDAD PUBLICITARIA Y LOMBRES DE LOS TRABAJADORES	TOTAL
		Liu Cheng Yang Sun Sack Gola	27 28
11	Dinamarca	16- <u>Land Og Folk</u> Jon Siego	29
		19- <u>CBS News</u> Carl Sorensen	30
12	Escocia	20- <u>The Week</u> Alexander Scott	31
13	España	21- <u>Oricina Actualidades Argelinas</u> Daniel Ortiz	32
		22- <u>Revista Triunfo</u> Eduardo Garcia Rico	33
		23- <u>Diario Prensa</u> Alfonso Sobrado Palermes	34
14	E.U.A.	24- <u>Agencia A.F.</u> Antonio Ortega Isaac Flores	35 36
		25- <u>Agencia U.P.F.</u> Gabriel Medina Diaz Pedro Bonetti	37 38
		26- <u>Mid-Week and Weekly Worker</u> William Allan	39
		27- <u>The Worker</u> Beatrice Johnson	40
		28- <u>Jewish Daily Freiheit</u> Joseph North	41
15	Finlandia	29- <u>Televisión Finlandesa</u> Antti Kovanen Esko Haapaniemi Pekka Makiinen	42 43 44
16	Francia	30- <u>Agencia Internacional Presse</u> Pierre Rondiere	45
		31- <u>Nouvel Observateur</u> Claude Estier	46
		32- <u>Radio Europeo</u> Francois Phillippe Fetjo	47
		33- <u>Agencia A.F.P.</u> Sergio Mandez Ives Doude Robert M. Ketz	48 49 50
		34- <u>Reveu Democratic Nouvelle</u> Albert Paul Lentin	51
		35- <u>L'Étincelle</u> Henri Herve	52

No.	PAIS	ORGANOS PUBLICITARIOS Y NOMBRES DE LOS PERIODISTAS	TOTAL
		36- <u>Le Monde</u> Marcel Niedergang	53
		37- <u>L'Express</u> Eduard Bellby	54
		38- <u>La Partisani</u> Francois Kasperd	55
17	Guinea	39- <u>Prensa de la República de Guinea</u> Bob Sow	56
18	Gran Bretaña	40- <u>Agencia Reuters</u> Michael Arkus Maria Isabel Arostegui	57 58
		41- <u>Sunday Telegraph</u> Charles Ian Lumsden	59
		42- <u>Evening Standard London</u> Peter Kingsley	60
19	Holanda	43- <u>Algemeen Dagblad</u> Leo Klatzer	61
20	Hungría	44- <u>Radio y TV Budapest</u> Luzlo D'Salgo	62
		45- <u>Megszabadasg Daily</u> Gabygo Kaluar	63
		46- <u>Agencia Telegráfica Húngara</u> Havel Jozsef	64
21	Irán	47- <u>Shahbay</u> Rahin Hanyar	65
22	Italia	48- <u>L'Unita</u> Saverio Tatino Gaetano Pagano	66 67
		49/51- <u>El Mundo Nuevo, L'Astrolabio, Il Ponte</u> Mario Lana	68
		52- <u>Foto Reporter</u> Antonio Sansone	69
		53- <u>Giornale D'Italia</u> Giuseppe Dall'Oncare	70
23	Japón	54- <u>NHK Radio Televisora del Japón</u> Hiroshi Shiohozaki Kyoichi Hoshino Kentaro Hirayama	71 72 73
		55- <u>Asahi Shimbun</u> Bim Watanabe	74
		56- <u>Periodico Yonahri</u> Takashi Ogawa	75

No.	PAIS	ORGANOS COMPLEMENTARIOS Y NOMBRES DE LOS PERIODISTAS	TOTAL
24	Herruacan	57- <u>Diario Oficial</u> Abdellatif Bayachi	76
		58- <u>Diario El Mundo</u> Tibery Masadad	77
25	México	59- <u>Cuadernos Americanos</u> Sol Angeles	78
		60- <u>Revista Siglo Veintiuno</u> Marta Solís	79
		Alberto Gutiérrez Sánchez	80
		Roberto del Río García	81
		61- <u>Revista Científica</u> Raquel Escobarich Carolina Sánchez Marcuó	82 83
26	Noruega	62- <u>Offenblik</u> Oystein Faltinsen	84
27	Polonia	63- <u>Ziemia Nasza</u> Antoni Knapowski	85
		64- <u>Agencia P.P.</u> Miroslaw Kowalski	86
		65- <u>Diario Glosa</u> Miroslaw Kowalski	87
		66- <u>Editorial Office Praxida</u> Henryk Kowalski	88
		67- <u>Polish Press Panorama Weekly</u> Mieczyslaw Szepanski	89
		68- <u>Clubs of a Dream</u> Leszek Paslow	90
		69- <u>Przegląd</u> Ludwik Kowalski	91
28	R.D.A.	70- <u>Agency G.G.S.</u> Dieter Cöbinger Wolfgang Mayer Peter Wainz Junge	92 93 94
		71- <u>Televisión R.D.A.</u> Erich Friedländer Peter Gosselke Hannelore Cöbinger	95 96 97
		72- <u>Deutscher Demokratischer Rundfunk</u> Manfred Schroeder	98
		73- <u>Neues Deutschland</u> Lore Patzer	99

No.	PAIS	ORGANOS PARTICIPANTES Y EXIBIDOS DE LOS PERIODISTAS	TOTAL
29	R.D. Viet-Nam	74- <u>Agencia Noticiosa de Viet-Nam</u> Au Vu Son	100
		75- <u>Phieu</u> Cuong Ly	101
		Cuong Nguyen Duy	102
		Nguyen The Ai	103
30	Rumania	76- <u>Victor Stenata</u>	104
31	Suecia	77- <u>Kerl Staff</u>	105
32	Suiza	78- <u>Luc Bernard Chesez</u>	106
33	Tanzania	79- <u>Daou Fatoua Mansur</u>	107
		80- <u>Union Nacional Africana de Tanzania</u> Joucs Gilbert Markham	108
34	Túnez	81- <u>Paradiso Les Temps Modernes</u> Rach e Cheriff	109
35	U.R.S.S.	82- <u>Gabriel Tikhonov</u>	110
		83- <u>Alena Stoujina</u>	111
		Mikhail Artischenkov	112
		Vasily Leontsov	113
		Rudolf Kuznetsov	114
		84- <u>Radio y TV U.R.S.S.</u> Sergio Pokin	115
		Vladimir Pugachev	116
		85- <u>Pravda</u> Yuri Pogosov	117
		86- <u>Izvestia</u> Vladimir Silatiev	118
		87- <u>Novosti</u> Valentin Mashkin	119
		Yuri Poporovo	120
		Mijail Roy	121
		88- <u>Komsomolskaja Pravda</u> Alexandre Krivopalov	122
		89- <u>Molodsi Comunist</u> Lev Kornachov	123
		90- <u>Literaturnaja Gazeta</u> Rinna Kezanova	124

No.	PAIS	ORGANOS PUBLICITARIOS Y NOMBRES DE LOS PERIODISTAS	TOTAL
35	Uruguay	91- <u>El Popular</u> Ricardo Salsund	125
		92- <u>Scenario Marcha</u> Carlos Marez	126
		93- <u>Diario Epoca</u> Manrique Salbarrey	127
36	Viet-Nam del Sur	94- <u>Agencia del Frente de Liberación Nacional</u> Vo San Ca	128
37	Yugoslavia	95- <u>Agencia de Prensa Tenzug</u> Boza Bafajlovic	129

**SPEECH BY OSVALDO DORTICOS, PRESIDENT OF CUBA, DELIVERED AT  
THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE, JANUARY 3, 1966<sup>1</sup>**

It is with singular joy that, in the name of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I fulfill the pleasant duty of bringing you the affectionate and joyful greetings with which our people receive the distinguished representatives of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have come together in Havana on this exceptional occasion in a meeting of fighters for liberation. These first words of salutation do not spring from the necessity to fulfill a protocol procedure, nor from a duty of elementary official courtesy. It is, to the contrary, the most sincere interpretation of the unanimous feelings of the Cuban people. It is the testimony of the greetings of a people, whose personality and temperament have been forged in fighting, to the brothers of other countries who are also fighters for the same ideals of progress, liberty and anti-imperialist struggle.

During these brief days, in which the preliminary work of the Conference has demanded your presence amongst us, I know that you have had more than one opportunity to experience the warm welcome of our people and to appreciate the deep sentiments of joy which your presence has caused in our country. The people of Cuba are firmly convinced of the extraordinary importance of this event as another phase in the long and cruel struggle against poverty, ignorance, exploitation and imperialism. Our people take deep satisfaction in greeting you today as the fighters in the front line of distant lands, but very close to our own ideals and hopes; our people who, after decades of frustration and slavery, won their struggle for liberation, the victory which we celebrated with you, only a few hours ago in the Plaza de la Revolución; the same people who won, one after another, the battles against internal counterrevolutionary attempts to destroy the achievements of the Revolution; the same people who defeated the U.S. imperialist mercenaries at Playa Girón; the same people with nerves of steel, unshakeable spirit and fighting decision who carried out their international duty with enthusiasm in the dramatic hours of the October crisis; the same working-people who day by day create the spiritual and material riches of the new society they are building; the same happy people with whom you have enjoyed the festivities of the past hours. This heroic people, full of joy and hope for the future of their country and humanity, is the people in whose name, distinguished delegates, I greet and welcome you at this opening session.

It is a great honor for Cuba to have been chosen as the host country for this Conference. We are convinced of the significance of this Conference, of how much it means, and how useful may be the tasks it undertakes

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1. Copied from the English edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, January 4, 1966.

from today on. The conclusions and declarations that will be agreed upon in following days, the solidarity and fighting spirit that will preside here and the encouragement and stimulus that this will mean for all the people of the world. The very fact that this is an opportunity for the most genuine representatives of the progressive and revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America to get together and the fact that this Conference affords the opportunity of conversation and reciprocal knowledge, constitute sufficient foundation to give this event an importance of historic dimensions.

That is why the eyes of the world are upon this Conference today. The struggling peoples of the three continents--those who have begun the fight for independence; those who have achieved formal independence and are moving along the road to true independence and those who are preparing themselves for the coming fight--all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in these days are watching the development of this Conference and are demanding that you fulfill your responsibilities and the hopes that these peoples have placed in this meeting, confident that this meeting will inevitably provide an opportunity for struggle and a proper occasion to find a common language: the revolutionary, fighting and anti-imperialist language that millions of human beings who suffer, hope and fight in these three continents have learned to speak.

But not only the peoples, the revolutionary and liberation movements are today eagerly watching this conference. It is sufficient to look over the cables of the international news agencies to note how much this Conference worries the peoples' enemies, national oligarchies that serve the imperialists, treacherous rulers and, especially, the imperialist circles. Therefore it is the inescapable duty of the distinguished delegates to combine their efforts so that this may be a triumphant event. Nor should we fail to justify the faith that the peoples have placed in our work and decisions; nor should the imperialists, nor the other conspiring enemies of the people, be allowed to lose their alarm, their fear and indignation when they learn the final results of this Conference, its agreements and the vigour which it will lend to international solidarity.

What justifies a meeting of the representatives of the peoples of these three continents? What unites the millions of men and women of Asia, Africa and Latin America? What are the common objectives that produce a meeting such as this? Different languages, diverse national characteristics, different races, a multiplicity of traditions and various levels of economic and cultural development do not constitute obstacles for this meeting, nor for the unity of aims for which it was convened. It is simply that, regardless of the strategic and tactical methods which are the concern of each country, all the peoples represented here have their history, their present and their future deeply committed to the struggle for total liberation and sovereignty; for progress, economic and cultural development; for the ending of poverty and illiteracy; for the liquidation of the

colonial and neocolonial forms of exploitation of the people; for the defeat of the imperialist enemy.

These are common objectives of the peoples of the three continents, of those who have succeeded in becoming independent nations and are fighting today to guarantee this independence and progress in the midst of imperialist bribery, aggression and blackmail; and of those people who have achieved a formal independence and whose governments, abjectly submitted to imperialist interests, serving as guardians of exploitation and poverty within their respective countries; as well as those of the peoples who have not won even formal independence and are fighting for their true liberty or are preparing themselves for the struggle.

As an open and ill-disguised euphemism the "underdevelopment" of the three continents has been spoken about, and even in the diplomatic language of the imperialists the term has won legitimate usage. The peoples who meet in this Conference know in a concrete and dramatic manner what "underdevelopment" means: economic backwardness, hunger, technical penury, illiteracy, sickness, political oppression, the exploitation of national resources, direct or indirect domination by imperialism. The peoples who meet in this Conference know that the problems of underdevelopment (even in the cases of nations that achieve their independence, and even those whose governments represent their ardent desires for liberation and progress) are not solved by the palliative measures, the institutions and technical instruments offered as solutions to the evils of underdevelopment in world forums and in specialised international conferences. We have attended these meetings, many times. Very often they serve as platforms for the peoples to proclaim their truths. But we are not so naive as to believe that the problems of economic and cultural underdevelopment of the peoples can be debated and solved outside the limits of the great world antagonism, the division of oppressors and oppressed, and disregarding the fact that the ultimate cause of all manifestations of underdevelopment is none other than the survival of imperialist domination.

In a peoples' conference, such as this, one basic truth becomes imperative: the definitive and complete elimination of underdevelopment can only be achieved by struggling against imperialism and defeating it entirely.

The procedure for this fight, the ways to obtain such a victory are, of course, conditioned by the circumstances of each country and those prevailing in the world scene today.

So it is opportune at the inauguration of this Conference, to recount briefly the fundamental characteristics of the world today which will be dealt with by this meeting.

The new correlation of forces in the world permits liberation movements to grow vigorously in the three continents. The fighting vanguards of the people improve their ideological education, their revolutionary consciousness matures and the movements of liberation grow and proliferate.

Temporary defeats suffered on some occasions are no more than the painful lessons learned by the peoples so that they may enter the struggle once again. The important thing is to be convinced that the final victory belongs to the peoples, that when the will of the people is firm, there are no obstacles that cannot be overcome to achieve victory. In inaugurating this Conference we can point to the visible increase of the liberation movements: in the midst of hardship and difficult battles against the powerful enemy, some peoples have started the struggle, other peoples have gained victory, and many peoples are preparing to fight. Nevertheless, it is true, that imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism which has assumed in the history of our times the sad role of international gendarme, increases violence and intensifies the use of all the evil instruments of aggression against the people. From bribery and blackmail to the most brazen forms of violence and armed intervention, U.S. imperialism, the centre of world reaction and the foremost enemy of peace and progress, unscrupulously carries out within the framework of a perfectly defined world strategy, any number of openly criminal actions believing them to be useful to their fight for domination and survival. Therefore, as the peoples, filled with strength and bravery and increasing revolutionary consciousness, take the path of liberation, imperialism replies with all its weapons, employing all its potential and all its power. The armed mercenary intervention in the Congo, the armed intervention in Santo Domingo, the formation of mercenary armies in Latin America, the constant threat against free revolutionary Cuba, the decision of the United States Congress in trying to legalize unilateral imperialist intervention in any American country, the establishment of a racist government in Southern Rhodesia, the brutal intensification of the most criminal forms of racial discrimination in South Africa, and finally the direct aggression by the armed forces of the United States in South Viet Nam, and the bombing by United States planes of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, are very definite expressions of the global strategy of imperialism today. In Asia, Africa and in Latin America, the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of the peoples is a struggle to the death.

Therefore, distinguished delegates, this Conference is taking place in an historic moment when imperialism, all other means for subjugating the peoples having failed, imposes violence upon them, and there is no better place than in this Conference to proclaim, without hesitation, the right of the people to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence.

It is not our purpose, nor our mission upon opening this Conference to define the line it should adopt. The position of Cuba, on each of the topics on the approved agenda, will be established during the course of the

Conference by the Chief of our Delegation. Moreover, the resolutions and decisions of this meeting must be the spontaneous and democratic expression of the results of its deliberations and the fighting spirit that enlivens it. But I think I interpret the general feeling of the distinguished delegates when I proclaim in this inaugural meeting a principle of universal value for all the liberation movements of the three continents. When imperialism and reaction close the doors to all legal forms of struggle, it is a right and a duty of the peoples to respond to the armed violence of imperialism with revolutionary armed violence.

It is the responsibility of the vanguard of those peoples to create the subjective conditions when they are absent. When imperialism offers the peoples no other alternative, this is the only way of pursuing the struggle for liberation. In countries that have achieved their independence and that are trying to keep it, despite the stratagems and aggressions of imperialism, it is the duty of the leaders of those peoples to do more than preserve their own sovereignty and construct a new society promoting their independent economic and cultural development. The survival of these sovereign states and the guarantee of their future progress are also involved in the struggle taking place in the three Continents against imperialist domination. But, furthermore, their duty of solidarity obliges the peoples that have achieved their independence, and their leaders, to pledge the necessary support, in such ways as may be necessary, for the liberation movement. On this inaugural occasion, Cuba declares that it is a right and a duty of the peoples and governments of the countries that have achieved independence and begun building a new life, to give unrestricted support to the movements of liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Being aware of this duty, the Conference will consider it a fundamental obligation to express its solidarity and give its most determined support to the courageous people of Viet Nam who are suffering today the most vandalic, criminal and illegal aggression from U.S. imperialism. That is why, when opening this Conference, and while greeting from this platform the fighters who, in the most widely separated areas of the three Continents, struggle today with weapons in their hands for the liberation of their peoples--in Latin American countries such as Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Colombia; in the African Portuguese colonies or in the Congo (Leopoldville) or wherever there is a fighter or the readiness to fight--we reserve our word of highest honour for the heroic people of Viet Nam. We offer our complete support to the positions adopted by the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam and by the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, as conditions for peace. And we reiterate on this occasion the firm decision of Cuba to support the heroic struggle of the people of Viet Nam, in any way that may be necessary. As the First Secretary of our Party, Comrade Fidel Castro stated yesterday, we are also prepared to shed our blood for Viet Nam. Distinguished delegates: this Conference is being held in a country that is still an anti-imperialist

battlefield. On this soil, generous blood has been shed more than once fighting against U.S. imperialism. The people who live here, creative and peaceful, the confident and happy people that you have met in these days, live in a permanent state of combat readiness. A short distance from the most aggressive imperialist country, the most savage and powerful enemy of the peoples, challenging its insolence and in historic denial of the thesis of geographic fatalism, we achieved our independence by a bloody war. From that revolutionary triumph, the first socialist country of America was born. Despite the blockade, armed aggression and international conspiracy of U.S. imperialism, our people are victoriously advancing upon the glorious road leading to the construction of a brilliant future. We are aware of our obligations to the peoples of the world, the importance of our humble example. We feel genuine pride at having achieved revolutionary triumph, and of having defeated Yankee imperialism on our own soil. This, however, does not justify vanity. We do not believe that we are the revolutionary center of the world. Our desire is to contribute modestly in meetings such as this, our experiences and above all our irrevocable determination for international solidarity.

Cuba is a small country, and we have only slightly more than seven million inhabitants. But at opening this Conference, we wish to confirm once more before you all, with absolute clarity, that to the full extent of the means at our disposal, but with the militant and inexhaustible energies of our people, as Fidel Castro stated yesterday: "Any revolutionary movement, in any part of the world, can count on Cuba's unconditional and decided aid."

Today, more than ever, we renew that pledge of honor giving our word as revolutionaries. All the efforts of the Cuban people today are dedicated to the construction of a new society. All that we have done in these seven years of revolution and all our work in the future, is for us a reason for revolutionary and creative passion. We deeply love our work and wish to protect it against all dangers. Our economic successes, our growing agriculture, our schools and our hospitals, our universities and our cultural centers, the new generation which is being forged today, all this beautiful revolutionary reality which is Cuba, we love deeply. All this constitutes a priceless treasure for our people. But it is opportune, on this exceptional occasion to firmly express our willingness to fulfill the commitments we have made to other peoples, even though we risk these achievements and these creations. If our duty of solidarity and support to liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples demands this sacrifice, our people will make the sacrifice. Cuba will not fail!

Distinguished delegates: I convey to you the expectations of the Cuban people for the success of this Conference; their trust that every one of you, with absolute independence of judgement, will reach unanimous conclusions and militant decisions; their faith in that this first meeting of representatives of the peoples of the three Continents will be an

expression of the spirit of solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle. The peoples expect a great deal from this Conference. Consequently, your responsibility is a high one. It is now important to find the forms of a common language and common action against the imperialist foe. We ardently desire that this gathering will genuinely embody the aspirations for liberty of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the fighting spirit of these peoples, the encouraging support of all the progressive forces in the world, and the support of the Socialist countries to the epic that these three Continents are playing out.

On behalf of the Cuban people and the Revolutionary Government, I express our deep gratitude for your stimulating presence in our country, for the exceptional honour of sharing your company, for the distinction that has been given Cuba by selecting this, our country, as the seat of this meeting. And with renewed faith in the future of the peoples, in their invincible capacity for struggle, and in the certainty of the final defeat of imperialism, I declare that the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is hereby inaugurated.

Long Live the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Long Live the Heroic People of Viet Nam!

Our Country or Death!

We will win!

SPEECH BY OSMANY SIENFUEGOS, CUBAN MINISTER OF CONSTRUCTION AND CHAIRMAN  
OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION, DELIVERED ON JANUARY 6, 1966 1/

The Cuban Delegation greets all the anti-imperialist fighters - attending this conference as true representatives of the fraternal peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, comrades in the struggle to obtain a better future for mankind.

As President Dorticos states in the opening session, it has been a signal honour for the Cuban people to have our country chosen as the site for such a supremely important event.

Your presence during the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Cuban revolution will remain a pleasant memory for our people, for having shared these joyful days at the very doorstep of the common enemy, Yankee imperialism, with fighters of the three continents who have also been hard hit by the crimes and greed of the colonialists and neo-colonialists.

We know that from this historic occasion we must draw the utmost experience and reach the most effective conclusions as to the goals we are pursuing: the struggle for national liberation, the merciless battle against imperialism.

In organising the conference, our party aimed to provide the ideal conditions and facilities so that this meeting would give a new impulse, new strength, vigor and experience, to the liberating struggle of the peoples of the three continents, the open combat against Yankee imperialism and against every system of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation.

Cuba's revolutionary line has been sufficiently expressed in the development of its policy since the very beginnings of the Revolution. This revolutionary line has been set forth in the First and Second Declarations of Havana, which constitute irrevocable program documents of our people. The Second Declaration of -- Havana states:

"That which Cuba can give to the peoples - and has already given - is its example. And what does the Cuban revolution show? That revolution is possible. That the peoples can carry it out, that in the present-day world there are no forces capable of holding-back the liberation movement of the peoples".

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1. Photocopy of English version published by the Tricontinental Conference, La Havana.

Revolution is possible because it is imposed by the miserable conditions in which our people live. The shameful imperialist- and colonialist exploitation has created adequate conditions on the three continents for the development of the liberation movement and popular revolt.

Analysing the conditions of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation and the living standard of our people - suffices to make clear that the situation is more than ripe for rebellion, for revolution.

Thus far not a single liberated people have won their liberation in any other way than by revolution. It is said that experience is the best teacher, and this is indeed the case. This conference should benefit by the experience of these triumphant peoples, of those people who have won their victory, of those who -- as in Viet Nam today -- are showing that no one can oppose with lasting success the heroic action and unshakable determination to obtain independence and liberation.

Not a single example can be cited to the contrary.

As to the concrete conditions of the under-developed countries -- applied to the social and economic realities and fighting tactics, we must declare as an incontrovertible fact that our peoples find themselves in a favorable situation on the road to their independence. Allow us to quote again the Second Declaration of Havana, which offers a realistic analysis in this respect when it states:

"When Armies organized and equipped for conventional warfare, which are the force by which the exploiting classes stay in power, confront the irregular warfare of the peasants on their home ground, they are rendered absolutely impotent. They lose ten men for each revolutionary fighter who falls; they succumb rapidly to demoralization when having to face an invisible and invincible enemy, who gives them no opportunity to display their military academy - tactics and their war fanfare - which they so boastfully brandish to suppress the workers and students in the cities."

Many are the tasks and issues which must be covered by our Conference.

One of the problems of greatest interest to the Conference is the idea of setting up a Tricontinental Organization to promote the solidarity, of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Various opinions are being debated as to the best means of reaching this objective. Whatever the solution, we must reach it after full and profound discussion in which all of these opinions will be carefully studied. Moreover, the solution must correspond to the interests of the popular liberation movements; to these interests only.

We must ask ourselves what kind of organisation we desire, and for what purpose. We must find the path leading to an organisation -- which in its form and content will be effective in giving drive to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

It must be an organisation of fighting peoples, with enough flexibility and capacity for action to assist the peoples of the three continents in the development of the national liberation movement and anti-imperialist struggle. We must give to the concept of solidarity an active, dynamic and militant content.

The Organisation should conform to this objective, both in form and in contents.

Some opinions have been advanced regarding the maintenance of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation and the parallel creation of a tri-continental organisation with seat -- at the suggestion of some of the delegations -- in Havana. The selection of Cuba as the seat would undoubtedly be an honour to us, but our position is not conditioned by any aspirations of a nationalist nature that might create obstacles. If the Conference should decide to establish one sole organisation to unify the anti-imperialist efforts of Asia, Africa and Latin America with Cairo as a seat, Cuba would back that decision, but in this case its vote would be conditioned -- and this is indeed a matter in which we are fundamentally interested to the designation of a representative of the heroic Vietnamese people as President, since this country is today the center of the most ferocious, criminal and inhuman of all imperialist aggressions and around which should also be centered the solidarity and the will to fight of the peoples of the three continents and of the whole world, as well as an expression of the character and tone of this Conference.

The list is already long of peoples fighting arms in hand against -- one or another form of imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist or racist oppression. The list is headed by the heroic people of Viet-Nam, who inspire our firmest solidarity; the peoples of Santo Domingo, -- Laos, Venezuela, the Portuguese colonies of Guinea and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, of the Congo (Leopoldville), of Guatemala, Peru and Colombia.

The most oppressed and virtually enslaved peoples of Rhodesia and South Africa are demanding their rights with ever-greater energy. -- The movement of Negroes in the United States for human dignity is growing. The small but admirable people of Puerto Rico are not faltering in their efforts to preserve their Latin-American nationality in order to be able to join as a free country the truly fraternal peoples of this continent.

Cambodia has warned of its resolve to fight against the aggressors, if the imperialists extend the war to its territory.

The Arabs of Palestine demand the restoration of their usurped rights.

The people of Panama are insisting on their sovereignty over the territory that was seized from their country, and is paying with the generous blood of its sons for this rightful aspiration. British Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique --are not resigned to the colonial status which still shamefully prevails on their territories.

As there are so many peoples who are still suffering under the colonial yoke --direct or indirect-- this list of peoples who are struggling, demanding, insisting, fighting, is growing and will go on growing until the day when, with the help of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, this planet can truly call itself a territory free of imperialism.

So that this day may come, all of our peoples must struggle, and we must all try to be first in solidarity and effort. That is the aspiration and purpose of our country and our people.

At this moment in which this conference of Solidarity of the -- Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is taking place, -- with resounding success, we must all voice our severest condemnation of the kidnapping in Paris, and almost certain assassination, of the President of the Preparatory Committee, El -- Mahdi Ben Barka, one of the most outstanding figures in the -- struggle for national liberation in Africa. It is evident -- that this abominable deed was devised and perpetrated by agents of imperialism and reaction, both interested in obstructing -- this manifestation of anti-imperialism and revolutionary solidarity.

It is absolutely necessary that this criminal act be elucidated and the responsibility of the governments and powers that have participated in it be exposed.

Whatever may have been the fate suffered by comrade Ben Barka, it is right that the conference recognize his extraordinary -- contribution to the development and culmination of this event.

The paths of unity among the peoples are the paths of revolution. There is no true popular unity without revolution. The question is how to achieve this unity. There is only one way: Making revolution. How to make revolution? We must set ourselves an immediate objective: to frame strategy and tactics to achieve this objective, incorporate the highest number of forces to achieve that objective. What matters is that, that --objective be clear and it should correspond to the strategic aims of the revolution. What matters is that tactics unleash and develop the action and unity of the people and that it be effective in the struggle against the enemy.

This, fellow delegates, is the experience of our own revolution, learnt in the struggle and confirmed by success, and by the monolithic unity of the Cuban people. This example is displayed by all successful revolutions.

Today all peoples have a very clear objective: Defence of the principles of national sovereignty, of self-determination of states, the right of peoples to make revolution, aid to those-peoples by all means within our reach.

Progressive humanity has in its hands today an uncommon strength, which if united around these objectives will step by step triumph over imperialism and defeat it.

Even though the conditions for the victory of revolution exist, revolution is not born spontaneously. The duty of revolutionaries is fundamental, and this duty is fulfilled in the action, in the fight, in the open struggle against imperialism, national oligarchies, colonialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism and great land-ownership.

"The duty of every revolutionary is to make the Revolution".

The Delegation of Cuba participates in the work of the conference with the full conviction that millions of human beings on our three continents shall not be defrauded, who after centuries of suffering the most abominable crimes, the crudest and most unjust exploitation of their labor, of bearing the most painful offences against their dignity, are irrevocably determined to win forever their complete liberation.

"This great humanity has said enough! and has begun to move, - and the march of these giants shall not be stopped, until they achieve their true independence!"

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO, PRIME MINISTER OF CUBA, DELIVERED  
AT THE CLOUDET STATION, JANUARY 19, 1960/

Honored delegates, Cuban comrades: The importance of this event which has come to a climax tonight does not escape us. Contrary to all the auguries of imperialism, contrary to all its forecasts which revealed the great hope that this conference would not result in anything, that this conference involving the problems of the international communist movement was bound to be divided, that it was bound to be a great failure--what has happened is something that they least, or perhaps never, expected: that the conference has been a success; that this conference has created an organ tricontinental in nature; that it has arrived at agreement: that recognize the most heartfelt yearnings of the peoples who fight for their liberation; that a committee to aid the liberation movements has been created. And that's not all. Something which unquestionably hurts the imperialists greatly is that Cuba has been chosen as the headquarters of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization until the next Tricontinental Conference is held.

It is not that we are expressing here a feeling of national pride. Because of the peculiar circumstances surrounding the country--its geographic location, the efforts exerted by the imperialists to isolate it from the world, the measures adopted so that practically no one can visit us--the fact that this Conference has been held with such success in our country and defying all obstacles, defying all difficulties, that it has been considered an adequate location for the temporary operation of the headquarters, is something which doubtless must hurt the Yankee imperialists considerably.

Therefore, this has been a great victory for the revolutionary movement. Never has there been a gathering of such dimensions and of such magnitude, a gathering in which the revolutionary representations of 82 peoples have met to discuss problems of common interest. Never has there been such a broad meeting, because the peoples of three continents have been represented here; the revolutionary movements of the peoples of three continents who have a common anti-imperialist posture; who represent the struggle of their peoples with differing philosophical ideas or positions, or with differing religious beliefs; who on many occasions represent differing ideologies; but who have something in common. The most common cause that unites the peoples of three continents and of all the world today is the struggle against imperialism; the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism; the struggle against racism; and, in short, the struggle against all those phenomena that are the contemporary expression of what we call imperialism, whose center, axis, and principal support is Yankee imperialism.

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1. Translated from the Spanish version published in Cuba Socialista.

And it is this common cause among the peoples of this era that made possible the holding, agreements, and conclusions of this Conference. It was not an easy task. It may seem easy; but it was not, nor could it be. This is only natural, because for a meeting of representatives of so many different peoples and so many different movements, with individual problems which express almost all the current problems of the world, it was not easy. The drafting of criteria and agreements acceptable to all was only achieved by arduous work.

We remember how different problems were discussed during these past few days. When the final statement was being discussed, we remembered how Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had worked for many months to write the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO and how, afterwards, they revised, retouched and polished it many times before it was finally issued. Naturally, in our conference which took only two weeks—a few days less than two weeks—there was a need to work out a document which would cover the different opinions and would be issued in a manner that would be fully satisfactory to every one of the delegations.

Despite these circumstances, a document was achieved which is undoubtedly the most profound, most complete, and most radical of any that have been worked on and agreed upon at a conference of this type.

For the first time the Latin American representatives participated with the African and Asian nations. Of course, in the case of Latin America, the majority or all the representatives came from the movements and nations which are fighting or will fight to free themselves. Our nation in this case represented the only nation that is free from the domination of Yankee imperialism and that is constituted in revolutionary power.

We believe that this conference will unquestionably occupy a place in the history of the nations that struggle for their freedom in the revolutionary movement. We also believe that the contacts which have been established, the ties which have been created between the world movements fighting against imperialism, and the organizations which have been created, will play an unquestionable role in the support, in the solidarity, and in the increase of the revolutionary struggle.

We have had the opportunity to know more in depth and more in detail the thinking and the specific situation of each one of the movements which fight for their liberation at this hour. We have had the opportunity to know the concrete situation of each one of the peoples who struggle, and, above all, we have had the opportunity of seeing how the solidarity of the peoples has been growing; how the strength of the revolutionary movement grows on a world scale, and how the mutual assistance of the peoples grows and can grow in times to come; the assistance of all the peoples of each one of the peoples who struggle—the mutual assistance of the peoples on a scale and on a level which mankind has never before seen; and how, despite the military and technical power of the imperialists, the united strength of the revolutionary peoples will be much more powerful.

Extraordinary lesson of the Viet-Nam people

Imperialism will inevitably be defeated. Who has taught us this lesson? It has been taught to us by the peoples. Who among the peoples has given us in these times the most extraordinary lesson? The people of Vietnam. Vietnam is a small nation; the imperialists have split it in two: North and South Vietnam. For revolutionaries, for us, there is but a single Vietnam.

Against the people of South Vietnam the Yankee imperialists have deployed a large part of their might--hundreds of thousands of regular soldiers of the imperialist armed forces, as well as hundreds of thousands of soldiers drafted by the puppet government; hundreds of planes; thousands of helicopters. Yet the Yankee imperialists have been unable to crush the people in this part of Vietnam.

Trying to intimidate their brothers in the other part of Vietnam, they began bombing with hundreds of planes every day to demand their surrender, to try to bring the Vietnamese to their knees. Yet, as the imperialists themselves admit, instead of gaining ground they have lost ground. Against the ever increasingly steadfast and heroic resistance, they used more and more planes and more and more bombs. To the amazement of the world, the people of Vietnam are furnishing the most extraordinary example of heroism the history of any liberation movement has ever seen, because a liberation movement has never had to face more powerful forces. The people of Vietnam are reversing these forces and defeating the might of the Yankee imperialists.

They not only bomb Vietnam. They also incessantly bomb the patriots of Laos and threaten to bomb and commit aggression against Cambodia. These attitudes and threats of the Yankee imperialists reveal their impotence their despair. This is the result of a situation which is every day becoming more critical in that part of the world. This is due to the defeats they are suffering in that part of Asia, where a decisive battle is being waged by the people against imperialism--and not only against Yankee imperialism but against Yankee imperialism and its allies, Yankee imperialism and its daring associates in Asia--which is expressed by the mobilization of South Korean, Australian, and Thai soldiers--and which threatens to further involve either military or support forces of the greatest number of world governments.

That struggle against the Vietnamese people, against the people of Laos and the threats to Cambodia demonstrate a need to render maximum solidarity and help to those nations.

The Yankee imperialists have the support of Thailand, where there are many troops and bases and from where they carry out threats against Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia. This does not mean that this situation will continue indefinitely. We are sure that for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia the hour will come when the Thai people will demand an accounting from the Yankee imperialists; the hour will also come when that suppressed and exploited people, inspired by its neighboring nations, will also join the struggle against the imperialists.

Meanwhile, the imperialists not only have carried out the war against Vietnam--all of Vietnam--and Laos, but also threaten Cambodia. And Cambodia is a small nation which has not yet been attacked but is seriously threatened by Yankee imperialism. Therefore, it is necessary that the revolutionary states assist in the strengthening of the defenses of the small nation of Cambodia.

Talking with that country's representative, who was participating in the Tricontinental Conference, hearing from his lips about the situation in his country and the dangers that threaten it, we expressed that view to him. And we told him further that we Cubans, although we are a small nation and at an enormous distance from Cambodia, are prepared to contribute to the extent of our power to strengthening its defenses, and that all we need is to be notified, all we need is to be asked in any circumstance when it is considered advisable, for we are prepared to make our contribution.

And that is also our position on Laos, and North Vietnam, and South Vietnam!

We are a small nation, not too far from the shores of the imperialist metropolis; our arms are mainly defensive; but our men, wholeheartedly, our revolutionary militants, our fighters, are prepared to fight the imperialists in any part of the world!

Our country is a small one, our territory could even be partially occupied by the enemy, but that would never mean a cessation of our resistance. But the word is big, and the imperialists are everywhere, and for the Cuban revolutionaries the field of battle against imperialism takes in the whole world!

Without boasting, without any kind of immodesty, that is how we Cuban revolutionaries understand our internationalist duty; that is the way our people understand their duty, because they realize that the enemy is one; the one who attacks us along our shores and on our land is the same who attacks the others. Hence we say and we declare that Cuban fighters can be counted on by the revolutionary movement in any corner of the earth.

Thousands and thousands of Cubans have expressed the desire and the willingness to go anywhere in the world where they may be needed to help the revolutionary movement. And this is logical.

If the Yankee imperialists feel free to bomb anywhere they please and send their mercenary troops to put down the revolutionary movement anywhere in the world, then the revolutionary peoples feel they have the right, even with their physical presence, to help the peoples who are fighting the Yankee imperialists.

And so, if each helps to the extent of his power, if each helps insofar as he can, the Yankee imperialists will be defeated. And if in some place they are going to suffer a crushing defeat, that place is southeast Asia. For there it is possible to establish a correlation of forces, it is possible to establish a correlation of forces incomparably superior to that of the Yankee imperialists.

Thus, we have not the slightest doubt that they will be defeated, crushed, by the peoples of that region. And--if they increase their forces and the forces of their reactionary allies--they will be crushed by the forces, not only of those people but by the forces of the socialist camp and the other peoples.

This is why the Yankee imperialists launch their hypocritical peace offensives, in an attempt to confuse, to deceive. And that is why the peoples of Vietnam have said--and very rightly--that the only peace, true peace, will be achieved only when the Yankee imperialists stop attacking, and when the Yankee imperialists cease to occupy part of the territory of Vietnam, and when the Yankee imperialists take their mercenary troops and military bases out of Vietnamese territory.

That is, the imperialists have been told the only thing that was proper to tell them under the circumstances: that true peace--since they are the only disturbers of the peace--will be achieved when they get out of Vietnam.

It is evident that the imperialists are fighting a hopeless fight there, the imperialists are fighting a fight there in which they are doomed to inevitable defeat. And as a result, they want to trade defeat for a false peace.

And it is logical for the people of Vietnam to refuse; it is logical for the people of Vietnam to be unwilling to exchange their victory for that kind of false peace.

If we were in a similar situation, I am fully convinced that we would say exactly the same thing, and that we would refuse to negotiate under bombs, and we would refuse to negotiate under aggression, and we would refuse to negotiate while our country was occupied.

Therefore our people and the Conference unanimously supported the positions and points upheld by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Liberation Movement of South Vietnam.

On this question, on this topic, currently the most burning one, there were practically unanimous views. And it is very well for the Yankee imperialists to know the degree of solidarity with Vietnam felt by all peoples of the world. It is well for the Yankee imperialists to understand the degree of support enjoyed by the people of Vietnam throughout the world.

Hence we consider that this solidarity Conference of the peoples of the three continents has acted and spoken in such a way that the support and feelings of solidarity for Vietnam has been made obvious, and in addition will grow. And as in the case of Vietnam, so it is for Laos and Cambodia, which are the nations being attacked or running the risk of being attacked.

### Support to the African Liberation Movements

On all problems of Asia, Africa, and Latin America the Conference took a similar stand. The peoples and the liberation movements of Africa--and in order to avoid an oversight I wish to say that a small country, too, there in that area of Asia, is fighting for its liberation, although it is not very well known, a people fighting courageously, the people of North Kalimantan received the warm support of the Conference, as did the people of Yemen and the people of Palestine.

The African liberation movements, I was saying, those that were so worthily represented at this Conference: the people of Portuguese-occupied Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, represented here by one of the most serious revolutionary movements in Africa and by one of the most lucid and brilliant leaders in Africa, Comrade Amilcar Cabral, who gave us tremendous confidence in the future and the success of this struggle for liberation; the liberation movement of Angola and Mozambique, another two Portuguese colonies that are in armed conflict for their liberation; the Zimbabwe people, oppressed by the racist minority in Rhodesia; the people of the Congo-Leopoldville; the oppressed people of South Africa; the protectorates of Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland, whose names reveal the imperial profile of the country that colonized them; in sum, all the African liberation movements were worthily represented at this Conference and received warm support and solidarity from all the delegates.

In Africa the imperialists attempt to penetrate and divide and subjugate is increasingly manifest. During the past few weeks they have made coups fashionable. Coups in the Congo, coups in the Central African Republic, coups in Nigeria, as reported by dispatches, reveal imperialism's desperate efforts to strengthen its dominion in that part of the world.

In Africa, too, a decisive battle is being fought, and the role of the revolutionary movements and the role of the new states that have not today been infected with the disease of neocolonialism will be of extraordinary importance in resisting this imperialist drive and penetration.

For there, aid to the revolutionary movement, strong aid to the liberation movements, strong aid to the majorities that are oppressed by the racists will be a decisive factor. Equally decisive will be the sense of responsibility, seriousness, and union among the African revolutionary leaders.

Some movements have suffered blows, some setbacks; but those setbacks must not discourage them. Those setbacks must serve as experience; those setbacks must serve as lessons, so that appropriate steps and measures may be adopted to overcome present difficulties, to overcome shortcomings and weaknesses of the revolutionary movement.

The solidarity movement, which began in Africa and Asia and has now extended to the third continent of the world that is oppressed and exploited by imperialism, will, by a decision of the Conference, have its next event in Cairo, thereby accepting the invitation extended by President Nasser who offered the United Arab Republic capital for the next Tricontinental Conference, in 1968. And we are sure--and we must bend every effort to that end--that by that date, among the peoples that have freed themselves from imperialism or colonialism we will be able to greet a few more brother peoples of Africa.

### Common strategy of the Latin American Peoples

The problems of Latin America, beginning with the most burning and critical problem, the problem of the military occupation of Santo Domingo by regular troops of Yankee imperialism, earned the attention of this Conference and the full support of the delegates representing their peoples.

On the Dominican stage in the years ahead, Latin America faces one of the most serious battles of the next few years. The Dominican Republic, a small country occupied by tens of thousands of Yankee troops, faces a long, hard fight. The Dominican Republic, the Dominican people, must not face the Yankee imperialists alone.

In many other American nations every condition exists for revolutionary armed struggle. This struggle has already been going on for some time too in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala.

In Latin America there must not be one, or two, or three peoples fighting alone against imperialism. The imperialists' correlation of forces in this hemisphere, the nearness of their home territory, the zeal with which they will try to defend their dominions in this part of the world require, in this hemisphere more than anywhere else, a common strategy, a joint, simultaneous struggle.

If the imperialists have to face not just the people of the Dominican Republic, or just the people of Guatemala, or just the people of Venezuela, or just the people of Colombia, or just the people of Peru, but have to fight, at the same time as in all these countries, against the other oppressed peoples, as in Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Argentina and other peoples in Central America; if the struggle is waged on a broad scale, if every revolutionary of this hemisphere does his duty--and as the Havana

Declaration says, the duty of every revolutionary is to effect the revolution and effect it in deed, not in word; not be a revolutionary in theory alone, but a revolutionary in practice. If revolutionaries spend less energy and time on theorizing and devote more energy and time to practical work; and if there are fewer resolutions and alternatives and dilemmas and it is understood once and for all that sooner or later all or almost all peoples will have to take up arms to liberate themselves then the hour of liberation for this hemisphere will be advanced. That with the ones who theorize, and the ones who criticize those who theorize, while beginning to theorize themselves, much energy and time is unfortunately lost.

We believe that in this hemisphere, in the case of all or almost all peoples, the struggle will take on the most violent forms. And when this is realized, the only proper thing is to prepare for the time when the battle comes. Prepare!

Of course, that battle will break out first where--as the Havana Declaration says--conditions of imperialist oppression are the most naked, where every course is absolutely closed, as is the case in most countries of this hemisphere. And even where the bourgeoisie and imperialism exercise their class rule through constitutionalist means, as is the case in Uruguay, the force of the mass movement and the people's revolutionary spirit are more and more evident.

And we must express our people's great liking for Uruguay, because the latter is a tiny, tiny country that has no mountains and is surrounded by two reactionary colossi, and invariably, always, without exception, under every circumstance, its people have been on a par with the people of Venezuela in solidarity and support for the Cuban revolution.

We still remember how, because of the break in diplomatic relations with Cuba due to an OAS decision imposed by the United States as a penalty against Cuba, the people of Uruguay, led by their revolutionary organizations, took to the streets with incomparable vigor in protest against that servile, traitorous act against a nation of this hemisphere.

#### Trotskyism: vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction

The Yankee imperialists have not only established the economic blockade against us, made use of armed aggression, threatened us mortally on certain occasions, committed every kind of sabotage, infiltrated spies, and launched piratical attacks, but also Yankee imperialism has used more subtle weapons against our country, such as the weapons of propaganda and slander. And not that alone--Yankee imperialism and its agents have sought to destroy the prestige of the Cuban revolution; they have tried to depict the Cuban revolution as being apart from the revolutionary struggles in this hemisphere; they have tried in the basest and most slanderous way to discredit the revolution; and they have used every method, every fact, every weapon.

Of course, the imperialists would be interested in a concrete discussion of these problems. Any irresponsible person, any charlatan, any puppet cares nothing about making an irresponsible statement, a slanderous statement. It is well known that only the enemy would be interested in the manner of putting into practice the term "solidarity" with revolutionary peoples of the whole world as well as in this hemisphere.

But what has happened? There is a fact which I will take as an example to demonstrate how imperialism and its agents work. It is a very interesting fact. I refer to the campaign carried out by Yankee imperialism and its agents regarding the departure of our Comrade Ernesto Guevara.

I believe this is a matter we must "take by the horns" to clarify some things.

Comrade Ernesto Guevara, a few revolutionaries from this country, and a few revolutionaries outside this country know when he left and what he has been doing since. The imperialists are, of course, very interested in learning all the details as to his whereabouts, what he is doing and how. Apparently they do not know, or if they do, they disguise it very well.

These are things, of course, that time, when circumstances so permit, will clarify. However, we revolutionaries do not need any clarifications. The enemy seizes upon these circumstances to try to conspire and to confound and to slander.

Comrade Guevara joined us when we were in exile in Mexico. From the very first day he always had the idea, clearly expressed, that when the struggle ended in Cuba he would have other duties to fulfill elsewhere. We always gave him our word that no state or national interest, no circumstances, would make us request him to remain in our country, would make us obstruct the fulfillment of this wish or this vocation. And we fulfilled thoroughly and faithfully that promise which we made to Comrade Guevara.

Naturally, if Comrade Guevara was to leave the country, it would be logical for him to do this clandestinely. It would be logical for him to move clandestinely. It is logical that he is not calling newsmen. It is logical that he has not been granting press conferences. It is logical that he should carry out the tasks he had planned in the way he did, however, how much capital the imperialists have tried to make from this situation, and how they have done it!

That is why I brought some papers. Do not be afraid that I am going to read all the papers here. I am only going to read some sections. Because here we have what all the imperialist and bourgeois newspapers have written with respect to the case of Major Guevara, what the U.S. newspapers, their magazines, and their wire services have written, the bourgeois newspapers of Latin America and of the entire world. We are going to see exactly who have been the main spokesmen of the imperialist campaign of intrigue and calumny against Cuba with respect to the case of

Comrade Guevara. In the first place, there are certain elements that during the past decades have been used constantly against the revolutionary movement. And if you will give me a little time, I am going to look among all these papers for some very interesting items.

Ah, I found it. It is a UN dispatch dated 6 December 1965; and it says that Ernesto Guevara was murdered by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro on orders from the USSR, declared Felipe Albarrante, chief of the Mexican Trotskyites, in statements to EL MUNDIAL. He added that Che was liquidated for insisting on placing Cuba on the Chinese line.

This, naturally, came at the same time as the Trotskyite elements began a campaign in all places simultaneously.

Likewise, the weekly MARXIA, dated 22 October 1965, published an article in which a well-known Trotskyite theoretician, Adolfo Guill, declares that Che left Cuba because of differences with Fidel on the Sino-Soviet conflict and that Che could not impose his opinion on the leadership. He says that Che, in a confused way, proposed the extension of the revolution to the rest of Latin America in opposition to the Soviet line. He says that the Cuban leadership is divided into a conservative wing, which includes former leaders of the PSP, and the followers of Che, with Fidel and his team in between in a central conciliatory position. He says that Che left Cuba because he lacked means of expressing himself, and that Fidel feared to face the masses to explain the case of Che. This same Trotskyite theoretician, on October 21, 1965, for NUOVO MONDO, an Italian paper, wrote an article calling the Cuban leadership "philo-Soviet" and accusing Fidel of not having explained politically what happened to Che. He says that Major Guevara was defeated by the PSP and the Castro team. He criticizes Che for not having taken to the people the struggle to impose his point of view and he concludes that the Cuban state, paralyzed by its own policy, did not openly support the Dominican revolution. I will refer to this a little more extensively a little later.

In its October 1965 issue, the Spanish Trotskyite newspaper BATALLA said that the mystery which surrounds the case of Che Guevara should be cleared up. Friends of Che suppose that the letter Castro read is false, and that it is being asked whether the Cuban leadership is orienting itself toward submission to the bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

Around the same date, the official Trotskyite organ of Argentina published an article in which it avers that Che is dead or a prisoner in Cuba. It says: that "he came into conflict with Fidel Castro over the operation of the unions and the organization of the militia," and adds that "Che opposed the appointment of Castro's favorites to the Central Committee, particularly army officers supporting the Moscow rightwing."

However, one of the filthiest articles, the most gross, the most indecent, is that written by the leader of the Latin American political bureau of the Fourth International, in the Italian newspaper LUCHIA OPERARIA. Of this article, a very long one, I am only going to read three paragraphs. It begins by saying: "One aspect of the worsening of the world crisis of bureaucracy is the expulsion of Guevara. Guevara was expelled not eight months ago. The Guevara discussion has lasted eight months. These were not eight months spent drinking coffee. They have fought hard, and perhaps there have been deaths, perhaps they have argued with pistols. We cannot say whether or not they killed Guevara, but there is reason to suppose that they killed him."

"Why does Guevara not appear? They have not presented him in Havana for fear of the consequences, the reaction of the people, but after all, by hiding him they produce the same effect. The people say, 'Why does Guevara not come out, why does he not appear?' It is not a political accusation. There is political praise for him. Why have they not presented Guevara? Why has he not spoken? How can it be that one of the founders of the Cuban worker state, who up until a short time ago toured the world in the name of the worker state, unexpectedly says: 'I am fed up with the Cuban revolution. I am going to make revolution somewhere else.' Somewhere else, and they do not say where he has gone, and he does not appear. If there are no differences, why does he not appear? All the Cuban people know that there is an enormous struggle and that this struggle had not ended.

"Guevara was not and is not alone. If they take these measures against Guevara, it is because there is great support, very great support, for him, and in addition to this great support the people are enormously concerned.

"A short time ago the Cuban government published a very severe decree, saying that all weapons must be turned in to the state. At that time the situation was a bit confused. Now it is clear why this resolution was issued. It was against the Guevara partisans. They are afraid of an uprising."

Here is another paragraph: "Why have they silenced Guevara? The Fourth International must carry out a public campaign demanding the appearance of Guevara, the right of Guevara to defend himself and to speak, to appeal to the masses not to trust the measures the Cuban state has taken because they are bureaucratic measures and perhaps those of murderers. They have eliminated Guevara to still his struggle. They have silenced Guevara despite the fact that their position was not consistent with the revolutionary point of view, because it tended to harmonize their positions in the revolutionary trend.

Further on it says: "This demonstrates not the power of Guevara, or of a Guevara group in Cuba, but the advanced conditions in the other workers' states that make it possible for these positions to bear fruit within a

short time. Bureaucracy is not deceived by maneuvers and measures of this type. The elimination of Guevara means for bureaucracy the attempt to liquidate a base for possible regrouping of revolutionary tendencies which continue to develop world revolution. This is the reason for the liquidation of Guevara and not only because of the danger to Cuba, but because it includes the rest of the Latin American revolution.

Guatemala is at the side of Cuba; Guatemala is at the side of Cuba with the program of the socialist revolution and despite its force and the speeches of its highest leader, Fidel Castro, it has not been able to prevent the November 13 movement from turning into a socialist-revolutionary movement fighting directly for socialism."

It is not by coincidence--far from it--that this gentleman, a leader of the Fourth International, makes very haughty mention of the case of Guatemala and of the November 13 Movement. Because, precisely in relation to this movement, Yankee imperialism has used one of the most subtle tactics to liquidate a revolutionary movement, which consisted of infiltrating it by the agents of the Fourth International who--because of ignorance, the political ignorance of the principal political leader of that movement--did nothing less than adopt that discredited thing, that antihistoric thing, that fraudulent thing which emanated from elements who undoubtedly serve Yankee imperialism, that thing that is the program of the Fourth International.

How did this happen? Yong Sosa was, undoubtedly, a patriotic officer; Yong Sosa led the movement of a group of army officers--in the crushing of whom the mercenaries who later invaded Giron participated--and through a businessman who took charge of the movement's political aspects, the Fourth International fixed it up so that this leader, who was ignorant of the profound problems of politics and of the history of revolutionary thought, would permit that agents of Trotskyism--and we have not the slightest doubt that he is an agent of imperialism--to publish a newspaper which copied from beginning to end the program of the Fourth International.

In doing this, the Fourth International committed a real crime against the revolutionary movement, to isolate it from the rest of the people, to isolate it from the masses, by contaminating it with the stupidities, the discredited and the repugnant thing that Trotskyism is today in the field of politics. Because at one time Trotskyism represented an erroneous position, but a position in the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in subsequent years a vulgar tool of imperialism and reaction.

These gentlemen think this way, for example, in relation to South Vietnam, where a broad revolutionary front has united the overwhelming majority of the people and various sectors of the population, has united them closely around the liberation movement in the struggle against

imperialism. For the Trotskyites this is absurd, this is counterrevolutionary. Yet these gentlemen who serve imperialism have the gall to do such a thing in the face of the facts and realities of history and the revolutionary movement, and to express themselves in this manner.

Fortunately, in Guatemala the revolutionary movement is being saved. And it is being saved thanks to the clear vision of one of the officers who along with Sosa began the revolutionary movement and who, understanding that blunder, that stupidity, divorced himself from the November 13 Movement and with other progressive and revolutionary sectors organized the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes de Guatemala (Guatemalan Rebel Armed Forces). That young officer who had such a clear picture of the situation is the one who represented the Guatemalan revolutionary movement at this Conference, Major Turcios.

Major Turcios has to his credit not only that he was one of the standard bearers of the armed struggle for the liberation of his oppressed nation, but also that he saved the Guatemalan revolutionary movement from one of the most subtle and perfidious stratagems of Yankee imperialism and raised the revolutionary banners of Guatemala and of his anti-imperialist movement by snatching them from the dirty hands of the mercenaries at the service of Yankee imperialism.

We hope that Yonq Sosa, whose patriotic intentions no one doubted when the struggle began and whose honesty no one questions--even though we have strong reasons to doubt his action as a revolutionary leader--will not delay in divorcing himself from these elements and will rejoin the Guatemalan revolutionary movement, but this time under a different leader, a different guide who has shown, at times like these, clarity of vision and the attitude becoming a revolutionary leader.

This position of the Trotskyites is the same as all newspapers and publicity agencies of Yankee imperialism adopted in relation to the cause of Comrade Ernesto Guevara; all the imperialist press of the United States, its wire services, the Cuban counterrevolutionaries' press, the bourgeois press throughout the hemisphere and the rest of the world. In other words, this campaign of slander and intrigue against revolutionary Cuba in connection with the case of Comrade Guevara coincided exactly with all reactionary imperialist bourgeois sectors, all the slanderers and all the conspirators against the Cuban revolution.

There is no doubt that only reaction and imperialism are interested in discrediting the Cuban revolution and in destroying the confidence revolutionary movements have in the Cuban revolution, in destroying the confidence of the Latin American peoples in the Cuban revolution, in destroying their faith.

Therefore, they have not hesitated to use the dirtiest and most indecent weapons.

This man, Mr. Guil, who once in a while appears with other North American intellectuals in the U.S. magazine *MONTHLY REVIEW*, had the villainy to write the following paragraph, which is worth analysing, with regard to the Santo Domingo crisis. He said: "A high point of this crisis had to be the Dominican revolution, where the Cuban worker state was left paralyzed by its own policy, without openly supporting the revolution, while in Cuba there was tremendous internal pressure for a policy of active support. If the crisis took place long before the Santo Domingo incident, then the Santo Domingo incident undoubtedly precipitated the revolution."

This man has the villainy to accuse the Cuban revolution of not having actively supported the Dominican revolution. While the imperialists accused Cuba, while the imperialists were trying to justify their intervention, saying that leftist and communist elements trained in Cuba were there leading the uprising; while imperialism was accusing Cuba and presenting the Dominican Revolution not as an internal problem, but as an external problem, this man accuses the Revolution of not having given active support.

What is meant by active support? Could they perhaps think that Cuba, whose arms and resources are known, could prevent and should have prevented the landing of North American troops in Santo Domingo? Cuba has weapons to defend itself, but in relation to the imperialists, infinitely inferior. Cuba has defensive arms. And these gentlemen are so wise and shameless that they attempt to blame Cuba for not having prevented. . . . Because, what else does active support mean? Because everything that Cuba could do under the circumstances, everything that Cuba could do and had to do, was done. To ask Cuba to prevent the landing is tantamount to asking Cambodia in southeast Asia to prevent the bombing of North Vietnam and to prevent the occupation of South Vietnam by the Yankee Marine Corps.

Unfortunately, Cuba's forces are limited. But to the extent of its strength and in the best manner possible, in the most determined manner and according to the circumstances, Cuba lends and will lend its maximum support to the Revolution.

Those who think that this country fears the imperialists, those who think--with a spirit of superiority and with their insolent delirium of superiority that this country fears the imperialists, should have lived here a few hours during the October crisis--when for the first time a small nation such as ours was threatened with a massive rain of nuclear missiles over its territory--to see the attitude assumed by this nation and by the Revolutionary Government.

Many lies and blunders are written--and, above all, written by irresponsible persons--when certain documents cannot be released to the public. However, one day mankind will learn and one day mankind will understand

all the facts. That will be the day the miserable ones will find out that Comrade Guevara was not murdered, when each of his steps will be known in full detail, and when the position assumed by Cuba during those difficult days--and how calm our people were--will also be known. When that is understood there will be no one, regardless of how insolent he may be, regardless of how provocative he may be, who will dare question the feeling of solidarity of this nation and the valor of this nation.

Valor proved by its conduct even though this country is located 90 miles from the imperialist metropolis. In the coming years enormous dangers will hang over our people's heads, to the same degree that the revolutionary movement grows. A revolutionary movement that grows above all because of the example of the Cuban Revolution; a revolutionary movement that grows and becomes gigantic because of Cuba's example, because of Cuba's victories, because of Cuba's position against the enemy.

It must be taken into account that when this nation defies that danger, this nation does not have millions of men under arms, this nation does not have thermonuclear arms, because here we have moral rockets; and here there are no infinite millions, no infinite number of men, but the dignity and the decorum of this nation is infinite.

The coming years will speak for us, and the coming years will take care of crushing the slanderers; not those who are known agents of the imperialists, but the confused, the conspirators, who allow themselves to be involved in intrigues and serve as instruments for the lies against our Revolution.

#### The Tricontinental: victory of the unity of peoples

What was demonstrated by this Conference is highly gratifying, because many things were demonstrated in this Conference. In the first place, it demonstrated how discussions can center, above all, around the things of real interest, above all, around those things that interest the people who are struggling; how the people--apart from their strength, apart from their resources, apart from their size--have a voice and opinion, and how the people are capable of having their own opinions and independent voices.

This was demonstrated in this Conference.

But in addition we Cubans have the satisfaction of being joined, just as Cubans have always been, with the revolutionary movement, regardless of hemisphere; and how a united force, how the revolutionary outlook, how the most honorable positions prevailed; and in this Conference--as an answer in the face of the conspirators and slanderers--the peoples and the revolutionary liberation movements always demonstrated a great, an immense, trust in Cuba and in its Revolutionary party, and how this country, therefore, was given the honor of being the General Secretariat and the temporary headquarters of the Organization.

And considering the task carried out by the Cuban delegation, by the Cuban Solidarity Committee--working for the Conference, struggling ceaselessly to overcome all obstacles, maintaining at all times an objective, just position of principle--even though it jeopardized Cuban relations with some countries, as was the case with Indonesia, due to the fact that it was up to the Cuban Delegation to decide, and the Cuban delegation rejected the official delegation from Indonesia. Cuba risked its relations with a state which is important in that part of the world.

And although for us all states are equally important and all peoples have equal rights, this fact serves to show to what point Cuba was, and tried to be, fair, and tried to be objective, and tried to maintain a position of principle.

We know how hard all of the delegations worked, because according to those who have been in several international conferences, this is a Conference in which more serious more dedicated work was done. That is why, when Cuba was named as headquarters, and the site of the General Secretariat of the Organization, the Political Bureau of our Party agreed to appoint Comrade Cesary Cienfuegos as Secretary General of the Organization.

All delegations have had an opportunity to learn of the effort and the sincerity with which Comrade Cesary worked on the preparations and the development of the Conference. We must say that everyone cooperated, and that all contributed, in one way or another to the uniting of ideas and to the success of this Conference. For, as I said previously, ideas were not always in agreement, but in the final analysis, everyone, in a genuinely objective effort, helped to bring about its successes.

The crimes of imperialism shall not deter  
the ultimate liberation of peoples

Before closing I want to mention two things: One, is the deep concern we all feel in the face of the events in Indonesia, confronted with the reports reaching us from Indonesia that more than 100,000 revolutionary militants have been savagely assassinated; with the report that Aidit and some other leaders of the Communist Party in Indonesia have been assassinated. We register our reproach, our protest, and our solidarity with the Indonesian revolutionaries, today persecuted by militarist reaction incited by Yankee imperialism.

And, at the same time, as a tribute to one who had a great deal to do with the success of this Conference, to acknowledge that Ben Barka was a decisive factor, with his steadfastness, his personal work, in the organization of this first Tricontinental Conference, and his effort and his work was the root of the matter that occurred. There is a general consensus that Ben Barka has been assassinated, cruelly and cowardly. If this Solidarity Conference is dutybound to step forward precisely in loyalty and

elementary obligation to him who so devotedly worked for its success, then it should demand that Ben Barka's assassination be investigated and Ben Barka's assassins be punished. Every indication points to the direct responsibility of the Moroccan minister of the interior, General Oufkir, on whom all suspicion and all evidence falls.

This conference should not rest until it is clearly known as to who planned and carried out Ben Barka's assassination--the assassination of the person who was the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for this Tricontinental Conference. This repugnant, monstrous deed demonstrated that from the outset imperialism was interested in obstructing the Conference and causing the Conference to fail. However, the results of this Conference demonstrate that Ben Barka's blood was not shed in vain, and that the Ben Barka crime--his assassination, like Lumumba's assassination, like Aidit's murder, like Sandino's assassination--none of these barbarous acts will enable imperialism to stay the victorious march, the final liberation of the peoples.

It is but fair for us to dedicate our memories to those who have sacrificed themselves for the victory of their peoples and fallen as victims of imperialism in all continents. May we propose always to be loyal to that cause, always loyal in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America to the cause for which they gave their lives and their blood for the liberation of the peoples.

Our country, as you have been able to see, made up of various ethnic groups, a result of the mingling of people from the several continents--because of this fact, deeply linked to Latin America deeply linked to Africa, deeply linked to all of the people from all continents--has done its utmost to make the delegations' stay here pleasant. It has displayed all of its enthusiasm and hospitality and all the warmth of which it is capable. Thousands of Cubans, tirelessly, without rest or vacation, have worked for the success of this Conference. They have worked to wait upon the representatives of the sister nations.

Our entire people have lived during these days a great celebration of international solidarity. Our people have felt as their own, each and every problem of the other peoples. Our people, as I said on January 2, received them with open arms, and they bid them farewell with an embrace, as a symbol of a bond that will never be broken, and as a symbol of their fraternal feeling of solidarity with the other peoples who struggle, and for whom they are ready, also, to give their blood.

Fatherland or death! We shall win!

STATEMENT BY SHARAF N. RASHIDOV,  
HEAD OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION,  
DELIVERED ON JANUARY 6, 1966 1/

On behalf of the Soviet people, we extend hearty greetings to the participants in this history-making conference of representatives of Asian, African and Latin American peoples who are fighting - against imperialism and colonialism, for freedom and independence, for peace and social progress.

I am happy to convey fraternal greetings from the peoples of the Land of Soviets to the freedom-loving people of Cuba, and we wholeheartedly thank the government and people of Cuba for their fraternal hospitality and for all they have done to convene this conference.

It is significant that this forum of the peoples of three continents is meeting in Havana at a time when the Cuban people and -- the entire progressive humanity is observing the seventh anniversary of the victory of the glorious Cuban Revolution. We are -- witnessing the magnificent achievements of the Cuban people in -- the creation of a new social system, its progress in civilian -- construction and in the strengthening of the defence of their -- free motherland. As a free nation, Cuba --the first socialist -- state on the American continent -- symbolizes the invincibility of a people fighting for liberation from imperialist oppression and working for socialism. We congratulate our dear Cuban brothers on the occasion of their great revolutionary holiday --Liberation Day - and wish them every success in building a socialist society. On this solemn day all Soviet people declare once again: we are - always with you our dear Cuban friends; we are with you on a day of trial, and on a day of joy and jubilation, in the common -- effort and in the common struggle for the triumph of socialism.

First of all I wish to stress that the Soviet delegation has come to this conference with the objective of facilitating in every way the unification of the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents to lend still greater scope and still greater effectiveness to our common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism - headed by the United States of America. Our attitude is clear to all and we do not intend to enter into polemics. The rostrum of our conference should be the rostrum of unity, not dissention

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1. Photocopy of English version published by the Tricontinental Conference, in Havana.

Dear friends:

We are participants in a remarkable event in the history of the national liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. The anti-imperialist struggle with its requirements of staunch unity of the fighting forces has led the people of our continents to realize the urgency of even closer unity and even greater coordination in our struggle against the common enemy imperialism, and first of all, against U.S. imperialism. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their drive for united action join hands for militant solidarity and revolutionary friendship. The Soviet delegation wholeheartedly supports the suggestion about the establishment of a three continent solidarity organization at this Conference.

We are living in a great epoch. One after another we see the collapse of the pillars of a system based on exploitation and violence, on national oppression and social inequality. The crumbling of imperialism's colonialist system is a vivid expression of the great worldwide historical process of liberation of the peoples from all types of oppression.

However, we must not forget for a single moment that colonialism--a mortally wounded and agonizing of prey-- has not been destroyed. It is trying to prolong its criminal life. It is resorting every means trying to preserve itself in Angola and Mozambique, in the so-called "Portuguese" Guinea and in Spain's domains in Africa, in the South of Arabian Peninsula, Aden, North Kalimantan, in the islands of the Caribbean basin and the Pacific ocean, and in other parts of the world.

Addressing you from this lofty rostrum we declare: there should be no place for colonialism on earth: it should be completely wiped off the face of the earth, once and for all. Sacred is the right of the peoples to fight for the complete destruction of colonialism and neo-colonialism using all means at their disposal. Soviet people has always supported people's wars, the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples and has been rendering them every possible support and assistance.

It took the colonialists several centuries to establish their colonialist system. But to undermine it and then to crush it, it took only several decades of a joint struggle by the peoples after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the defeat of fascism in World War Two, after the victories of the Chinese Revolution and the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The swift historical struggle sweeping away the colonialist system is predetermined by the courage and heroism of the oppressed peoples themselves, by the might and united action of all anti-imperialist forces.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement represent an important milestone in the history of the anti-imperialist struggle. Born in the battels against imperialism, in fraternal unity with the world-wide movement for peace and security, on union with the forces of democracy and socialism, this movement has grown in the past eight years into a mighty force of our day. It has become an important mobilizing and organizing factor of the growth and consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces. One of the strongest of its facets is that it has never been a closed shop. It sought to be strengthening its ties with the worldwide anti-imperialist front, and in particular with the peoples of Latin America.

In its turn, the desire of solidarity and unity on the part of Latin American peoples has glorious traditions of long standing - dreams for such unity were cherished during the struggle for independence by great Latin American patriots, as Simon Bolivar, José de San Martin, José Maria Morelos and others. The very same dignified aims inspired the glorious son of the Cuban peoples thinker and fighter José Martí. What insight there is in Jose-Marti's firm belief that America, struggling for freedom and independence, should encourage everything that brings the peoples closer together and hate everything that divides them. How true these words of the great Cuban revolutionary ring today.

The reactionaries have repeatedly set up obstacles to block the unification of the liberation movements of the three continents. But despite all intrigues of colonialists our unity has become an indisputable factor, a vivid proof of which is the current-Conference.

The winning of national independence by the majority of Asian and African peoples and the revolutionary upsurge in many Latin American countries has brought the liberation movements of the three continents closer together, both as regards their content and the objectives. This is what forms a real basis for effective solidarity the need of which has been motivated by life itself and which has become the motto of the first Conference of the three continents.

We express our appreciation to the people of the United Arab Republic and to President Gamal Abdel Nasser for the invitation to hold the Second Three Continent Solidarity Conference in Cairo.

We are meeting at a time when the internation situation has deteriorated gravely. Losing one position after another imperialists are resorting to extremely reactionary actions, including armed intervention in an attempt to stop the national and social liberation of the peoples.

In their aggressive actions against the freedom loving peoples, the imperialist powers are bound up by a mutual conspiracy despite the contradictions existing among them. They are striving to coordinate their efforts, are working out joint plans of -- struggle against socialism and the national liberation movement. The main headquarters of imperialist conspirators and the foundation of the worldwide military and strategic system of imperialism is the NATO.

The West German imperialism, which has become one of the main -- complices of the USA in the struggle against the liberation -- forces of the world, is beginning to play an increasing part -- within the NATO framework. The F.R.G. is closely cooperating -- with the Portuguese and South Africa racists, it supplies them -- with weapons, grants big loans, concludes secret agreements with the Israel against the Arab states. The main threat stems from US imperialism -- the main force of the entire imperialist camp.

In Asia imperialism's policy of piracy is especially evident in -- American criminal, aggressive war against the heroic people of Vietnam. The United States is subjecting to marauding air -- assaults the villages and towns of North Viet Nam, killing civilians, burning crops, destroying factories, plants and communications.

The Soviet peoples resolutely condemn US aggression against the Vietnamese people and express their solidarity with their heroic struggle against present-day barbaric forces.

Today a wave of mass meetings, rallies and demonstrations are -- taking place throughout the Soviet Union speaking at which workers, farmers, employees and representatives of intellectuals express -- their anger and protests against the disgraceful and dirty war -- waged by American imperialists in Viet Nam.

The Soviet Union is supplying the most modern weapons to the -- fraternal people of Viet Nam so as to enable them to repulse -- U.S. aggression. We are doing everything for the earliest delivery of Soviet military supplies--aircraft, missiles, artillery, -- munitions and other means-- to the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Since the commencement of the barbaric air raids on the civilian towns and villages of Viet Nam have shot down more than 800 U.S. aircraft. Some time ago a New York weekly Time had published some lamentations of one U.S. Airforce major who said that U.S. planes come under fire at all altitudes. He stated that when -- they fly low over the ground they come under the fire of small -- arms and the anti-aircraft guns. When they fly somewhat higher they are immediately attacked by the missiles. And that to fly -- at higher altitudes means to run into the MIG fighter planes.

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We, Soviet people are happy that the victory of our Vietnamese - brothers over the aggressors is facilitated also by the combat - equipment which is being enthusiastically built by the workers - of the Land of Soviets at hundreds of factories.

The Soviet people believe that a settlement in Viet Nam can be - achieved in accordance with the program put forward by the National Liberation Front on March 22, 1965 and in the resolution of North Viet Nam's National Assembly. I wish to inform the Conference that on December 9, 1965 the USSR Supreme Soviet had stated that it - fully shares this stand of the North Vietnamese government and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam.

The USSR Supreme Soviet has urged the parliaments and governments of all countries to undertake the necessary efforts to make the - United States of America discontinue its aggression in Viet Nam - and to give the Vietnamese people a possibility to settle for -- themselves their internal affairs.

By indulging in hypocritical talk about negotiations, U.S. imperia lists are trying to distract attention from the escalation of -- their aggression, are trying to lull the world public opinion. - -Soviet people consider it imperative to join efforts in order to give real and effective assistance to the people of Viet Nam. In - order to make the solidarity with the Vietnamese people even more - effective, the Soviet delegation proposes to launch an extensive -- world wide campaign of moral and material support to the fighting people of Viet Nam. We suggest the establishment of an Internation al Fund. The Soviet people will make a considerable contribution - of this Fund.

A broad and a powerful mass movement of protest against the dirty war waged by American imperialists in Viet Nam, the demand of an - immediate discontinuation of this war and of the withdrawal of the troops of the USA and its allies from Viet Nam and of a settlement in Viet Nam on the basis of the Geneva agreements --all this should become the practical goal of the mass struggle of millions upon - millions of honest-minded people throughout the world.

As it escalates its military operations, the USA is stepping up -- the hostilities against Laos. U.S. aircraft are bombing and --- strafing regions controlled by the patriotic forces of Laos. At the same time, Saigon puppe' troops, instigated by the Pentagon, - are carrying out bandit raids on Cambodian territory. The ruling - circles of Thailand are becoming more and more involved on the - side of the reactionaries and imperialists in this struggle. All this indicates that the USA intends to spread the flames of war - over the entire peninsula of Indochina.

To repulse the rampant American aggressors in South-East Asia is a burning issue and an urgent task of all anti-imperialist forces.

If progressive mankind fails today to stop the international piracy of the USA in Viet Nam, if it fails to stop the armed interference of imperialists in the internal affairs of countries and peoples striving for freedom and independence, then tomorrow the same fate may be the lot of any country, any nation of the world, America's imperialists aggression in Viet Nam as an impudent challenge to the entire national-liberation movement, to all freedom-loving peoples in the world.

But the Vietnamese people are not alone. They are fighting for a just cause, and we are confident that they shall be victorious.

The imperialists are trying to stifle the liberation movement in Africa, too. The intervention and interference in the Congo's affairs, the economic and political support of Portuguese colonialists and of South African and South Rhodesia racists, the conspiracies against the lawful governments of African countries that have taken the road of independent development, the fanning of contradictions among them to undermine African unity --all this, is far from being the complete list of the crimes perpetrated by the imperialists on the African continent.

The colonialists recently committed another crime against the African peoples. With the connivance and virtual backing of Britain and the USA, the racist clique of Ian Smith proclaimed the so-called independence of Southern Rhodesia to perpetuate the colonialist regime, based on inhuman oppression of four million Zimbabwe peoples by a racist minority. The usurpation of power by racists in Southern Rhodesia aims to consolidate this stronghold of imperialism in Africa. This is nothing but the beginning of the ominous imperialist plan aimed at preserving the rule of the colonialists and racists in Southern and Central part of the African continent. The ruling circles of Britain will not escape responsibility for this crime against the Zimbabwe people, against all African peoples.

Persistently striving to totally liquidate colonialism and racism, the Soviet government has reaffirmed its readiness to cooperate with the African states in giving comprehensive, joint support to the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle for genuine national independence.

The U.S. imperialists have openly interfered in the affairs of the Dominican Republic and have sent their troops there to use arms in preventing the Dominican people from deciding their own future. The Dominican people, however, are relentlessly continuing their gallant struggle which will bring about the triumph of its just cause. We declare that the Soviet people stand firmly on the side of the Dominican patriots. The Soviet people, together with all the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa, resolutely demand the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. and other intervention forces from the Dominican Republic.

The imperialists are openly encouraging and supporting coup d'etats bringing reactionary pro-imperialist regimes into power. Behind the false and evil pretext of combatting communism they are trying to legalize their intervention and interference in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. The disgraceful resolution of the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress aims at justifying this gross violation of the fundamentals of international law. The plans for establishing an "inter-American task force" pursue the same goal.

The Soviet people have profound sympathy with the courageous struggle of the peoples of Latin America, who are striving to uphold their national sovereignty and achieve the implementation of their national and social aspirations.

We express fraternal solidarity with the armed struggle waged by the patriots of Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala for freedom against the puppets of imperialism.

We express our solidarity with the struggle of the people in British, French and Dutch Guianas and the Antilles, with the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico. We are certain that the struggle of these peoples will lead them to their cherished goal, national independence.

We voice our complete solidarity with the liberation movements of the peoples of South Arabia, Aden and Oman and with the just struggle of the people of North Kalimantan for national independence.

We express solidarity with the people of Korea fighting for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, for the reunification of their country. We condemn the anti-popular complot between the South Korean puppets of the USA and Japanese imperialists. We voice our solidarity with the Japanese people demanding the liquidation of American war bases and opposing the military treaty with the USA. We express solidarity with the people of Cyprus struggling to consolidate their national independence and sovereignty against the intrigues of NATO and for the abolition of imperialist war bases.

Soviet people express solidarity with the struggle of Arab peoples for the undeniable, lawful rights of Palestine Arabs. They resolutely condemn the subversive activity of Zionist circles in Israel, directed against the national liberation movement and serving the interests of international imperialism.

We express the solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Congo, the so-called French Somali, Mauritius and Equatorial Guinea.

We support the gallant people of South Africa, who are waging an unbending struggle in most difficult conditions against racism, for national freedom and democracy. We support the struggle of the peoples in South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland against racism and colonialism, against the criminal policy of apartheid.

Dear friends:

Now that in the majority of Latin American, Asian and African countries the old colonialist regimes have been liquidated, the colonialists are resorting to new forms of imperialist oppression and enslavement. Colonialism is being replaced by neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is no myth; it is an active force that today has become the main danger for the liberated countries. Its aim is to use new methods and modified forms to economically shackle the liberated peoples in "invisible bonds" that are no lighter, than the old bonds.

To attain these goals, the imperialists have set up a rich arsenal of means of the most varied types. These include: military and political blocs like SEATO, CENTO and others linked to NATO and backed by the imperialist powers; unequal bi-lateral agreements of military, political and economic nature; imposing pro-imperialist regimes by military coups, bribing and blackmail; deep and varied economic penetration with the objective of ensuring complete control for foreign monopolies.

One of the main sectors of the national liberation movement is the struggle of the developing countries for economic independence. The gaining of political independence in itself cannot automatically liquidate the economic positions held by imperialism. These positions are determined by the sway of foreign monopolies which have captured the natural resources in the majority of Asian, African and Latin American countries, by the aftermath of colonialism -- a backward agrarian structure in the economy of the liberated countries -- by their subservient position in the world capitalist division of labour, their extreme dependence on exports of raw materials and imports of the main types of industrial goods.

Falling back on reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes and taking over the economies of former colonies and semi-colonies, the neo-colonialists are trying in every way to drive the social and economic development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries in a direction reflecting the interests of the imperialist monopolies, instead of the interests of the peoples of these countries.

It is quite obvious that under such circumstances more attention must be given to the question broadening economic cooperation, mutual assistance and to exchanging experience and coordinating the economic efforts of the countries in the three continents - against imperialists. The working out and implementing of a common policy towards private foreign investments, marketing key - raw materials and food products, customs and currency-financial questions, facilitates the earliest achievement of economic independence.

Dear friends:

Our delegation here represents the public and the different nationalities inhabiting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a country where socialism has triumphed, a country laying the material and technical foundation of communism. Socialism is increasingly winning the minds and hearts of millions of people. - Many peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin American march - under the banner of socialism and are unfolding their struggle - to implement its ideals. We firmly believe that socialism is the near future of all the peoples in the world.

Following the behests of Lenin, the Soviet Union is consistently working for world peace and the security of the people. We believe that relations between sovereign states with different social structures should be based on peaceful coexistence. However it is quite clear that there is no peaceful existence, nor can there be peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors - the colonialists and the imperialist, between the imperialist aggressors and their victims. The struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle against colonialism, against imperialist aggression and against encroachments on the freedom of the people and the sovereignty of nations.

The policy of our country is based on loyalty to the ideals of freedom and independence, a consistent struggle against all oppressions enslavement and injustice. Throughout the course of its history, the Soviet Union, in following the behests of great Lenin, has been sacredly fulfilling its international duty, giving all-around support to the peoples struggling against colonialism and imperialism, for their national and social liberation,

The peoples rising in the heroic struggle against imperialism, - no matter in what corner of the Earth this may take place, may be certain that the Soviet people will always be on their side,

With its might the Soviet Union is tying down the main forces of the imperialist powers, and by so doing, it is making it much easier for all peoples to struggle for freedom, independent development and social progress. On their part, the Soviet people highly value the revolutionary support they have been receiving for decades from progressive forces of other Asian countries, from the countries of African and Latin America.

At all international forums, including the United Nations Organization, the Soviet Union has been working in close contact and full understanding with the representatives of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who are fighting against imperialism, consistently upholding the cause of freedom and independence of those peoples.

The cooperation and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, has many forms. They envelope different spheres of life - political, economic and cultural. We are happy that the factories built with Soviet assistance are becoming leading enterprises in the young national countries, and that with our cooperation, the energy of powerful rivers in Asia and Africa is being harnessed to serve man.

We are happy that thousands of young people are being trained at our universities and colleges and upon their return to their homes in Asia, Africa and Latin America they will become active participants in the national rebirth of former colonies and semi-colonies, and become active workers for social progress.

More than 600 national economic enterprises, about 100 educational centres which the USSR has built or is in the process of building in the developing countries, the several dozens of thousands of specialists who received training in the USSR and the support by military weapons to the peoples and countries fighting for their independence against imperialist attacks such is the real contribution of the Soviet Union to the great cause of liberation and national rehabilitation of former colonies and semi-colonies.

The imperialists realize full well what an insurmountable force they face in the solidarity and unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. That is why they are trying to generate differences and arguments in our ranks, and they rub their hands in glee when these differences and arguments turn into conflicts - and when they succeed in preventing a settlement of these conflicts.

These imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues must be checked resolutely. Of decisive importance in this respect is to unite all the revolutionary forces of our days: the peoples of socialist countries, the peoples waging the national liberation struggle, the international democratic and labour movement. At the base of solidarity of these three powerful anti-imperialist forces lies a profound community of goals and the need of mutual assistance. Those are the main forces which we wish to form an alliance to act in complete unity. Our common goal is freedom, independence, peace, democracy, social progress. Our common enemy is the world imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialism. We should counter the treacherous plots of imperialism aimed at splitting our movement by a time tested weapon - by building up solidarity, unity and fighting ability of our great movement.

This point was aptly put by the leader of revolutionary Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro: "Disunity before the enemy has never been a revolutionary and wise strategy".

At the basis of the solidarity movement of the people of the three continents we must place the unbreakable desire for unity that continuously strengthens our cohesion regarding the main goal of our movement - the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the struggle for peace, freedom independence and social progress.

Our Conference should unite the anti-imperialist forces into a single movement of the peoples of three continents and hoist the militant spirit of Havana as its banner.

The Soviet delegation proposes also, to proclaim, in commemoration of the First Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia-Africa and Latin America, an International Week of Solidarity of the peoples of the three continents in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and to observe this Week annually from January 3rd. to January 10th.

The Soviet delegation issues an urgent appeal to all the national organizations and movements represented at this Conference to unite in the struggle for this great goal. May this Conference be a new step on this road; may it multiply and strengthen the unity of our ranks and give new strength to the liberation struggle throughout the world.

STENOGRAPH BY WU TSIEN-CHUNG, CHIEF OF THE  
COMMUNIST CHINESE DELEGATION,  
DICTATED ON JANUARY 5, 1966 1/

The Chinese Delegation hails the convocation of the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Conference. We wish to extend our cordial greetings to the anti-imperialist fighters from the three continents and to thank our Cuban friends, the host of this Conference, for their hospitality.

Together with the Cuban people, we celebrated the seventh anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution and the revolutionary spirit manifested in the two Havana Declarations have given encouragement to the Latin American peoples in their struggle for liberation. The Chinese people consistently support the Cuban people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for the defence of their motherland and their revolutionary accomplishments.

Our Conference is being held at a time when a struggle, the intensity of which is unparalleled in history, is going on between the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand, and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States on the other.

Ever since World War II, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has scored great victories. In all three continents, the political consciousness of the people has been unprecedentedly heightened and the revolutionary movement has gathered increasing momentum. Throughout the world, the soaring flames of the national liberation movement are spreading, the chains of imperialist colonial oppression are being broken and imperialist domination is being shaken to its very foundation.

Faced with the revolutionary storm of the people of the three continents, imperialism, however, refuses to meet its doom. U.S. imperialism is promoting neo-colonialism at the same time as it is backing up the old colonialists, thus playing the role of international gendarme in suppressing the national liberation movement. The United States is doing its utmost to place Asia, Africa and Latin America completely under the domination of the Dollar Empire.

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1. Photocopy of English version published by the Tricontinental Conference, in Havana.

The United States has established thousands of military bases and stationed almost a million troops in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It carries on subversion and unleashes war of aggression everywhere.

U.S. imperialism forces Latin American countries to conclude unequal treaties with it and has set up an Inter-American Peace Force designed to put down revolution. In the past twenty years, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has engineered 45 counter-revolutionary coups in Latin America.

U.S. imperialism has openly declared that it would resort to force to suppress "all unacceptable regimes" in the three continents. In the past twenty years, it has unleashed over ten large-scale military operations and aggressive wars to suppress the national liberation movement.

The United States spent six billion U.S. dollars and armed 8 million Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops to wage civil war against the people in China. It is still occupying the Chinese territory of Taiwan.

Under the banner of the United Nations, the United States launched a sanguinary war of aggression in Korea.

It has backed the Philippine reactionaries in putting down the patriotic Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) by armed force.

It sent its troops to Laos and sparked off its war of aggression in Indochina.

The U.S. Sixth Fleet landed its troops in Lebanon to suppress the national liberation movement in the Near and Middle East.

The United States twice sent its troops to the Congo (Leopoldville) to throttle her national independence, in this way thrusting the dagger of aggression into the heart of Africa.

It organized a mercenary army to overthrow the patriotic regime of Guatemala.

It openly directed the counter-revolutionary bandits in their armed invasion of Cuba at Giron Beach.

Under the cover of a so-called advisory group, U.S. troops are taking a direct part in the suppression of the patriotic armed struggle in Venezuela.

U.S. aggressor troops occupying the Panama Canal Zone savagely massacréd the Panamanian people when they started a patriotic --  
-uprising.

The United States went so far as to send more than 40,000 agres-  
sor troops to suppress a patriotic armed uprising in the Dominican  
Republic, a country with a population of only three million.

At present, U.S. imperialism is conducting an inhuman war of aggres-  
sion in Viet-Nam. In order to carry out aggression against south  
Vietnam with its population of 14 million, the United States has  
sent an expeditionary force of 200,000 men and employed all the  
latest types of weapons except for the atom bombs. The U.S. air-  
bandits are making round-the-clock air raids on north Vietnam.

The road U.S. imperialism is following today is precisely the old  
road taken by Hitler. U.S. imperialism is the mainstay of colo-  
nialism in our time. It is the most vicious and the chief enemy  
of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

U.S. imperialists' frenzied armed suppression of the national li-  
beration movement has taught the people of Asia, Africa and Latin  
America to realize ever more clearly

that the most effective weapon to defeat U.S. imperialism and all  
reactionaries and to win liberation is to use revolutionary vic--  
lence against counter-revolutionary violence and wage people's war of aggression and  
armed suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. People's war has  
fully demonstrated its power in the national liberation struggles of China,  
Korea, Viet-Nam, Cuba and other countries and it is again demons--  
trating its power today in the struggle of the Vietnamese people -  
against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Relying on the high political consciousness of all the combatants,  
their courage and spirit of sacrifice and on the support of the --  
broad masses of the people, the south Vietnamese people's armed --  
forces have engaged the U.S. aggressor troops in close-quarter ---  
fighting, night operations and bayonet battles, wiping them out by  
whole battalions and regiments and shattering them to pieces. Fired  
by profound hatred against the enemy, the army and people in north  
Vietnam have also severely punished the invading U.S. bandit air--  
men. The vaunted "U.S. naval and air superiority" has broken down  
and its "peace-talk" intrigues have also gone bankrupt one after -  
another.

Why is it that the leading imperialist power of the world has been  
so badly beaten by the Vietnamese people? The answer is quite clear  
- this is determined by the nature of the war itself.

The Vietnamese people are fighting a patriotic and just war, a ge-  
nuine people's war. The thirty million Vietnamese people rising up  
to fight the enemy, with resolve and indignation, constitute an --  
irresistible force.

As to the U.S. imperialists, they are fighting a hopeless war of aggression. They are fighting an unjust cause with virtually no support. They have fallen into the flames of the anti-U.S. struggle of the Vietnamese people which they themselves kindled. They have thus revealed their true features as a paper tiger.

In order to save itself from defeat, U.S. imperialism is sending more troops to south Vietnam and is preparing to expand the war to Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and China as well. Of late, U.S. imperialism has been actively putting up a smokescreen of "peace talks" and shamelessly creating a facade of peaceful negotiations. This is precisely a prelude to its new military adventures. Escalation, deception, failure, escalation again, deception again, failure again until complete defeat -- this is the logical development and the inevitable sequel of the war of aggression against Viet-Nam by the U.S. imperialists.

As a fraternal neighbour closely linked with the Vietnamese people like the lips and teeth, the 650 million Chinese people firmly support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and firmly support the four-point proposition of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the five-part statement of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation. The Chinese people have long been prepared. Should U.S. imperialism -- insist on going further along the road of war expansion and having another trial of strength with the Chinese people, the Chinese people will resolutely wake up the challenge and fight to the end. -- Come what way, the Chinese people will unswervingly side with the fraternal Vietnamese people and contribute all our efforts to the defeat of U.S. imperialism until final victory.

The Vietnamese people have pinned down and wiped out a large number of U.S. imperialist troops and upset U.S. plans for aggression and war. The victories of the Vietnamese people have greatly inspired the fighting will of all oppressed peoples and slapped the imperialists' arrogance, and they constitute the greatest support for the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and a great contribution to the cause of safeguarding world peace.

The struggle of Vietnamese people is the focus of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world today. Therefore, to support the Vietnamese people should be the most important task of our Conference. We must firmly support the Vietnamese people in their struggle to defend the North, liberate the South and reunify their motherland. The four-point proposition of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the five-part statement of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation are the only solution to the Viet-Nam question, the most essential point of which is that the U.S. aggressors must get out of Viet-Nam, look, stock and barrel.

The victories of people's war in Viet-Nam once again demonstrate -- that the decisive factor in war is man and not weapons of whatever type. It is the law of national liberation war that the new-born -- forces will overcome the old-decaying forces, the weak overcome the strong, and the oppressed nations fighting with rifles and hand-grenades will overcome the imperialists equipped with the most modern weapons .

U.S. imperialism is everywhere brandishing missiles and nuclear -- weapons to frighten the people. Nuclear weapons may appear terrifying, but actually they are not so formidable. The spiritual atom -- bomb of the oppressed peoples is thousands of times more powerful than the material atom bomb of U.S. imperialism. Should U.S. imperialism dare to use nuclear weapons, it can in no way conquer the fighting people and will inevitably find itself utterly isolated -- and accelerate its own destruction.

Recently the famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell has also pointed out: "When the people of Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, Viet--Nam, Thailand, the Congo, Venezuela, the Cameroons, the United --- States, Britain --all the people-- demonstrate and struggle and re--sist, nuclear power is of no avail. It will destroy its user."

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are aware that war -- will cause suffering, sacrifices and devastation to the people. But far greater suffering, sacrifices and devastation will befall on the people if they submit to imperialist enslavement and subjugation -- and do not resist the armed aggression and suppression of imperialism and its lackeys by people's war. As the Havana Declaration says: "revolutionaries cannot sit in the doorways of their homes to watch the corpses of imperialism pass by .... Each year by which America's liberation may be hastened will mean millions of children rescued -- from death, millions of minds freed for learning, infinitudes of -- sorrow spared the peoples."

At present, people's wars are being waged in more than 20 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, against imperialism headed by -- U.S.A. and its lackeys.

Every one of this battlefronts represents a rope tied around the neck of U.S. imperialism. This armed-to-the-teeth monster is -- now being surrounded ring upon ring by the oppressed peoples.

The "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism has made itself the ene--my of the people of the whole world. Its battlefronts are so -- extended, its rear so remote and its armed forces so scattered -- that it finds itself in an inextricable predicament. Its posi--tion is so bad that it is being beaten everywhere and total de--feat is awaiting it.

At present, a broad mass movement on an unprecedented scale against the U.S. policy of aggression in Viet-Nam is unfolding in the United States itself. Demonstrators from more than 100 cities converged in a torrent of wrath on Washington. The ruling circles of the United States, which have always used the banners of the "defense of freedom and democracy" to deceive the American people, are now no longer able to do so. The awakening American people -- are directing their struggle against the Johnson Administration's policy of aggression abroad and closely linking it with the struggle against oppression, exploitation and racial discrimination by monopoly capital at home. This is a great event of historic significance for the American people's movement. It can be said with certainty that with every escalation the U.S. government makes in its war of aggression, the revolutionary struggle of the American people will advance a big step forward. The great American people will finally be the real masters of the United States of America.

U.S. imperialism is beset with tremendous difficulties both at home and abroad and is facing an imminent and deep crisis in all spheres. Under these circumstances, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America must strengthen their struggle and give U.S. imperialism no breathing spell. Like all forces of reaction --- U.S. imperialism will not fall unless it is felled. It is therefore necessary for us to start still more powerful movements --- wage people's wars on a still greater scale, tighten the rope -- round the neck of U.S. imperialism and bring about its final defeat.

We, the Chinese people, determinedly stand side by side with the anti-imperialist fighters of Asia, Africa and Latin America and together, we shall overcome all obstacles and fight for final -- victory.

The Chinese people pay respects to their comrades-in-arms from Latin America. We resolutely support the peoples of the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala and other -- countries in their armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, resolutely support the peoples of Puerto Rico, -- Guianas, Martinique and Guadalupe in their struggle for national independence and resolutely support all the peoples of Latin America in their mass movements for national liberation and democracy and freedom.

The Chinese people pay respects to the anti-imperialist fighters from Africa. We resolutely support the Zimbabwe people in their struggle against the reactionary white racist regime of Ian Smith and for national independence, resolutely support the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) in their patriotic armed struggle, resolutely support the peoples of the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola in their armed struggles against the Portuguese colonialists, resolutely support the people of South Africa and South-West Africa in their just struggle against racial discrimination and oppression and for national liberation and resolutely support the peoples of Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, French Somaliland and all other African peoples still under colonial rule in their struggle for national independence.

The Chinese people pay respects to the Arab people. We resolutely support the Arab people in their just struggle against Israel, -- tool of U.S. imperialism, and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Chinese people pay respects to their brothers from Asia. We resolutely support the Laotian people in their just and patriotic struggle against U. S. intervention and aggression, resolutely support the Cambodian people in their just struggle against U.S.-imperialist armed provocations and aggression, in defence of national sovereignty and independence. We resolutely support the Indonesian people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the persecution of democratic and progressive forces by the right-wing forces, and for the defence of independence and democracy. We resolutely support the people of Thailand in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and resolutely support the peoples of North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore in their struggle against imperialism and its running dogs.

In particular, we pay respects to our close neighbours, the Korean brothers and the Japanese brothers. The Japan-south Korea Treaty which has been single-handedly created by U. S. imperialism is a grave step towards a new war of aggression in Asia. The Chinese people resolutely support the peoples of Korea and Japan in their just struggle against the Japan-south Korea Treaty, resolutely support the Korean people in their just struggle for the reunification of their fatherland and resolutely support the Japanese people in their great struggle against the U.S. control and occupation of Japan and the revival of Japanese militarism.

Who are our enemies and who are friends? This question is of crucial importance to the national liberation movement. We have consistently advocated that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America unite and form the broadest possible united front with-

the people of the socialist countries and all the peoples subjected to U.S. imperialism's aggression, control, interference and bullying, including the American people itself, to fight against imperialism headed by the United States.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: in waging struggle against imperialism victory can be achieved by taking the correct line, -- relying on the workers and peasants, uniting with the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who oppose imperialism, as well as all the patriotic anti-imperialist forces, and maintaining -- close links with the masses.

At a time when the people's struggle against imperialist aggression is very acute, it is necessary for us to unite with all-genuine anti-imperialist forces to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. There are some people who maintain that they stand for "united action" to wage a "common struggle against the enemy". But their actual deeds cannot but oblige us to raise the following questions:-- With whom do they really take united action? And unity against whom?

Why do they regard U.S. imperialism, the mortal enemy of the people of our three continents, as their principal ally, proclaiming that their policy of allround cooperation with the United States will never change?

Why do they sabotage people's wars and why do they preach here and there that "a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration"?

Why did they collaborate with the United States and vote for the sending of a U.N. Force to suppress the struggle of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville)?

Why did they collaborate with the United States in having the United Nations adopt a "cease-fire" resolution on the question of the Dominican Republic?

Why did they collaborate with the United States in defending the British imperialist policy of supporting and encouraging the reactionary white racist government of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia and warmly applaud Wilson in the United Nations?

Why do they collaborate with the United States in plotting for a permanent U. N. Force to serve as a ready tool for the suppression of national liberation war?

Why do they serve U.S. imperialism time and again in its "peace talk" intrigues on the Viet Nam question? Why did they sit together with the "representatives" of the Chiang Kai-shek gang - and the puppet cliques of south Korea and south Vietnam to discuss the establishment of the "Asia Development Bank" in order to implement Lyndon Johnson's plan for the so-called development of Southeast Asia, which is designed to coordinate with the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam?

Why do they vociferously clamour for "united actions" on the -- question of giving aid to Viet Nam and at the same time utilize this question to make fabrications and calumnies against China?

Why do they assure U. S. imperialism that all is quiet on the -- western front, so that U. S. troops can be shifted from West -- Germany to south Vietnam?

If they really oppose U. S. imperialism in action, change their erroneous line of collaboration with the United States for world domination and cease and desist from the mistakes they make in disrupting the national liberation movement and opposing socialist countries, we would, of course, unite and take united ac--- tions with them.

We hope that through democratic discussion and full consultation this Conference will strengthen unity against imperialism and -- contribute to the common cause of the peoples of the three con-- tinents.

We propose that the Conference adopt resolutions firmly support- ing all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their -- just struggles for national liberation, democracy and freedom, - backing the American people's just struggle against the Johnson- Administration's aggression in Viet Nam and standing by our Ame- rican Negro brothers in their just struggle against racial dis-- crimination and for democratic rights.

Friends, we are living in a great era in which the peoples of -- Asia, Africa and Latin America fight for liberation and want to- be masters of their own countries. The people are fighting and- advancing. Let us join hands, sweep away all obstacles in our - advance and greet the advent of a new Asia, a new Africa and a - new Latin America without imperialism, without colonialism and - without neo-colonialism!

People of the world, unite to defeat imperialism!

SPEECH BY KHALED MOHIEDDIN, HEAD  
OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC DELEGATION,  
DELIVERED ON JANUARY 5, 1966 1/

Brothers and Colleagues,

On behalf of the United Arab Republic delegation, I would like to convey our fraternal greetings and deep gratitude to the valiant people of Cuba, to their party and national committee, and to their great leader, Fidel --- Castro, for the hospitality we have enjoyed in their beautiful capital, and for the precision they have displayed in organizing this historic conference. We are indeed -- grateful for the opportunity they have afforded us. Our meeting here in the first Conference for the Solidarity - of Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples, is in itself a realization of a hope long cherished by us. We stand toge-- ther, a mighty force against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; a force working for the achievement - and safeguarding of real national independence, for cul-- tural, economic, and social reconstruction; for the rea- lization of sufficiency, justice, and prosperity for our peoples, and for the establishment of peace throughout -- the world.

We are meeting at a time which is a turning point in the history of Afro-Asian Latin American peoples. National Liberation movements and revolutionary development are surging ahead, against colonialism and neo-colonialism for the consolidation of the structure of our societies , and for safeguarding peace based on justice - which are - essential objects of the struggle waged by our peoples.

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1. Photocopy of English version published by the Tricontinental Conference, in Havana.

Representatives of the revolutionary forces of liberation and of popular parties in Africa and Asia met for the first time in the history of our peoples eight years ago in Cairo. The Cairo Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, held in January, 1958 was the natural outcome of the historic Bandung Conference. The Bandung spirit and resolutions acquired a vast revolutionary and popular concept - at the Cairo Conference, particularly after the great victory scored by the people of Egypt against the armed imperialist aggression. The solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples acquired a concrete and positive form that effectively -- contributed to the repelling of the imperialist aggression, and the upsurge of the Egyptian people, under the revolutionary leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser. It was this -- upsurge which resulted in two major victories; the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the completion of a --- socialist structure. The triumph of the Egyptian revolution, supported from the very outset by Afro-Asian Solidarity over imperialist aggression was one of the historic factors that contributed to the great liberation movement throughout the whole African continent.

In eight years of perpetual struggle, militant action, and close cooperation, the Afro-Asian countries have scored many victories. Their representatives at the Afro-Asian -- Peoples' Solidarity Organization have established obstacles in the way of imperialist forces, have consolidated bonds of fraternity forged in the struggle for common aims against a common enemy, -- the struggle emanating from a common heritage and similar historical circumstances.

It is these common aims and heritage that make it imperative for the peoples of the three continents to develop solidarity and close fraternal cooperation.

While the Afro-Asian Solidarity continued with its -- struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the peoples of Latin America were also carrying out a fight against all forms of colonialism, valiantly confronting tyrannic -- imperialism ... the imperialism of the United States. The choice by valiant Cuba of the path of socialism, was a clear proof that the people can impose their will and challenge -- the very existence of imperialism.

As you are all aware, comrades, neo-colonialism has basically concentrated its influence on Latin America. -- This led to the necessity of tightening the blockade which our people have imposed on the imperialists and of unifying the efforts of the three continents in their common struggle against the common enemy.

If the Hymalaya mountains, the Indian Ocean, and the Great Sahara could not stand in the way of solidarity among the peoples of two continents, how can the Atlantic Ocean bar the undauntable wave of international solidarity.

Here we are today in heroic Cuba crowning a full --- cycle of solidarity, fraternity and common struggle and -- about to embark on a new phase which aims at crushing all aggressive imperialist forces.

Our aggressor is one and the same in Vietnam in Asia, the Congo, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, and the Dominican Republic in Latin America, whose people are subjected to an armed aggression.

The solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples has been able - to weather all storms, and to forge successfully ahead --- until it has now emerged as a historic reality of our --- times, as a force which is capable of development and --- expansion until it has now enveloped the new revolutionary forces of Latin America. This expansion will, no doubt, - make it one of the most powerful movements in world history.

Dear Brothers,

We fully believe in the right of people to liberty, to independence and their freedom to choose their system of government. We believe that they have to defend and safeguard this right with all the means at their disposal. We must accept the principle that the armed struggle is no -- more than a means of confronting armed aggression.

The spread of popular armed struggle as a reaction to the domination of imperialism and its puppet governments is the manifestation of the important change which has taken place in the balance of power, and at the same time a proof that all peoples fully realize that the era of imperialism is approaching its end.

This, however, is not to say that we should ignore other means of struggle against imperialism. There are in fact numerous ways and means which differ according - to conditions, circumstances and the balance of power. - The important proviso is that all these means should aim at enabling the people to assert their will and choose - their way in full liberty.

We denounce the increasing tendency among the imperialists of resorting to force and, herewith, we affirm the determination of our peoples to counter this tendency by all means. We express our full support to the -- great liberation struggle of Vietnam. We support the -- armed struggle of the South Vietnamese people to achieve complete national independence, self-determination in -- full liberty and without any foreign interference, and -- the reunification of their homeland. We demand that --- aggressive air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam be immediately stopped, and that the Geneva Agreement of 1954 be implemented to the letter. We uphold the --- demands of the Liberation Front of South Vietnam which -- # we support the stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the solution of the Vietnamese issue. We demand -- the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the liquidation of all military bases from the soil of valiant South --- Vietnam. We consider the imperialist pretence of calling for negotiations while at the same time persisting in -- air raids and expanding the scope of war in South Vietnam is but a vile imperialist manoeuvre . We strongly con-- demn the U.S. aggression on North and South Vietnam and consider it a serious threat to all the achievements of the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples. We are fully con-- fident that the victory of the South Vietnamese people -- against aggression would be a major achievement which -- would help all the liberation causes in the future and -- become an encouraging example to be followed.

We support the struggle of the Dominican people to safeguard their national independence and repel the North American aggression. We support the struggle led by --- Latin American peoples to liquidate all forms of tradi-- tional imperialism and neo-colonialism by all means --- including the armed struggle whenever this is necessary. We support the struggle of Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela and other peoples of Latin America who are waging a re-- volutionary fight against imperialism. We are convinced that this struggle will enrich the revolutionary expe-- rience in Africa and Asia in as much as the revolutionary experience in these two continents has enlightened the experience of Latin America.

.../...

# -- we consider the sole and true representative of the South Vietnamese people and .....

The heroism of the Cuban people and their valiant resistance to the North American imperialism, the most-powerful in our times, although Cuba is at their door-steps is a source of great admiration and an inspiration for all the peoples who find in it encouraging example- which makes them more determined to persist in the struggle and resistance to all forms of imperialist pressure.

We believe that the question of lifting the economic blockade enforced on Cuba should prominently figure in the topics to be dealt with during this Conference. The heroic struggle of the peoples of Latin America --- against imperialist intervention and the economic ---- exploitation of the U.S. and further against world mono- polies has the complete support of our people and of -- all Afro-Asian peoples. It is in fact very closely ---- linked with the struggle of all peoples to eradicate -- colonialism in all its forms.. We consider it a sacred- duty that has to be carried out, unflinchingly by our - peoples.

We insist on the full implementation of the U.N. Declaration on the granting of independence to the colo- nised regions and peoples. We uphold the right of peo- ples to choose their path to independence and for the - attainment of their legitimate rights, in a manner keep- ing with the dictates of their special conditions and - their history.'

We believe in the effective role the U.N. can --- play: we believe in the importance of strengthening it and developing its organs, in the necessity of fighting imperialist intervention within the organization and -- the enhancement of the role the revolutionary and popu- lar forces could play in it. Only in this way can it - develop into a strong front against aggression, for the safeguarding of peace and for the defence of peoples' - rights. In this connection, we demand that the People's Republic of China recovers its legitimate seat in the - U.N.

In face of the increasing tendency of the imperia- list states to use brute force in the international --- domain, we should intensify our struggle against their- military bases from which they launch aggression. --- Military bases still menace our region, in Aden, Lybia, Saudi Arabia, and Cyprus.

We are continually struggling for the immediate - liquidation of these bases, and especially Israel which is used as a tool in the hands of neo-colonialism to -- menace, not only the Arab World, but the Middle East and all Afro-Asian countries.

With the establishment of the Organization for African Unity, and the initiative taken by the African States in a number of problems, the struggle of the African peoples has acquired new dimensions. For the first time in history the idea of armed support for the National forces in their anti-imperialist struggle is conceived. The face of Africa is changing; its states are not satisfied with gaining independence themselves, but they are persistently struggling to wrench the independence of the rest of African territories even by the use of arms as a legitimate means of ensuring the rights of people.

The decisive and united stands taken by Africa demonstrates the real meaning of solidarity. Indeed, the significant stand regarding the case of Rhodesia, illustrates to the world at large, that Africa will not rest armsfolded before any aggression.

Africa believes in peace based on justice ...believes in the struggle to realise this Justice. Its stand vis-a-vis the revolutionaries of the Congo, Angola and Rhodesia is the best implementation of this principle. Africa is well aware that peaceful co-existence is also a means of realising this justice, of ensuring the rights of people and of liquidating all forms of imperialist influence.

The struggle of peoples against colonialism is closely linked with the cause of peace: it is, indeed, part of the struggle for peace. Consequently, the link between the revolutionary forces struggling against colonialism and the forces struggling for peace is both organic and essential for the safeguarding of a world where justice, peace and prosperity prevail.

Peaceful co-existence does not mean surrendering to acts of aggression and usurpation. In this context, the stand against the white minority in Rhodesia which is attempting to usurp the land from its original owners who have lived there for thousands of years, is in itself part of the legitimate struggle and is necessary for establishment of peace and peaceful co-existence.

The first fundamental right of man is to be the sole master of his land, not to be challenged in this right by any power, however strong it may be.

In view of this, our people deem it necessary to adopt a decisive and effective stand against the white usurpers in Rhodesia. In the same way, our people and Arab brethren stand against the Zionist usurpers who through deception have sneaked and with imperialist arms have succeeded in usurping land from its original owners, cruelly expelling them from their homes.

Justice, friends, is indivisible and the aggressive usurper who is dispersing the original people in Rhodesia is the same aggressor who has dispersed the original people of Palestine.

The silence of world public opinion in the face of the Palestine tragedy, gave the aggressors the opportunity to repeat the crime in another place. Had the world conscience shown any reaction to the first aggression, there would have been no chance for its repetition.

We are the Africans closet to understanding the nature of the people's struggle in Southern Rhodesia. In essence, it is a repetition of the conspiracy of Israel. An alien minority backed by imperialism, and by the forces of economic exploitation and racial discrimination claims rights in the homeland of another people. Protected by colonialism, it lays hands on the national wealth, seizes actual power to the extent of proclaiming an independence that is faked, unleashes a reign of terror against the people and deny them all rights to a free and dignified existence on their own land.

Our stand in the face of the imperialist menace and racial discrimination is dictated by our experience in this region of the Afro-Asian world. If we condemn the illegitimate domination of a racial minority in Rhodesia and the deprivation of the African people of Zimbabwe from their own rights in their country, it is because we know from our own experience what this domination is like. Racial Zionist colonialism has usurped Arab Palestine and set up a bridge head there, infringing on the rights of its people, dispersing them and leaving more than a million refugees to destitution under the most cruel conditions in camps. Zionist colonialism in Palestine - similar to racial colonialism in Rhodesia is organically tied up with imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is up to all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to counteract this danger which menaces their independence and freedom.

The struggle of the people of Palestine to recover their homeland is a legitimate one which deserves the total support of the peoples of the three continents as well as all peace and justice-loving peoples in the world.

Colonialism in our region using its puppet -- Israel to menace the liberties of the peoples in the Arab East and their progress, resorts to terrorism, repression and war to consolidate -- colonialist invasion of the "occupied" Yemen South. The people of that area are waging a heroic armed struggle against British colonialism to recover their freedom, independence and the right to determine their own destiny.

We support the struggle of the Arab people in the occupied Yemen South, and we call for its financial and military support, for the rejection of imperialist projects that seek to create a faked independence. We also support the struggle of the people of Oman and their right to rid themselves of the military bases in accordance with the U.N. Resolutions.

We vehemently condemn the Zionist imperialist conspiracies in the South of Sudan.

We condemn the military bases from which imperialism launches its attacks against the occupied Yemen South and other Arab and Middle Eastern countries. These bases are used as a spring-board for aggression against the rights and independence of the people of the whole area.

We demand the abrogation of all aggressive treaties; we denounce imperialist military bases wherever they are in our continents, and demand their liquidation in Asia, specially in Japan, South Korea, South Vietnam and South East Asia; in Africa, where preparations are underway, to transform the Mauritius and Seychelles islands into imperialist military bases, and in some regions of Latin America.

We support the right of the peoples in the three continents to territorial integration and their realisation of their complete sovereignty. We support the right of the peoples of Korea and Vietnam to the re-unification of their homelands.

We wholly back the African peoples battling against colonialism and waging valiant struggle to wrest their independence and freedom and to do away with racial discrimination. We support the Congo (Leopoldville) in its valiant struggle against the imperialist forces and world monopolies that plunder the resources of the country and resort to the most barbarous measures of repression and extermination, either through flagrant interference or under the cover of neo-colonialism.

We support the struggle of Angola, Mozambique, so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, against racial discrimination and the brutal Portuguese, the struggle of French Somaliland, the struggle of the people of South Africa and Zimbabwe against colonialism and the settler minority.

We support the resolutions of the African Summit Conference, the Arab Summit Conferences, the First and Second Conferences of Non-Aligned States, the Geneva Conference for Trade and Development, because we believe that they can play an important role in the general strategy of the anti-colonialist struggle of peoples and for construction. The principal burden however, lies on the liberated and struggling peoples who have to continue the struggle until the final defeat of colonialism, the eradication of all forms of exploitation and the establishment of a society of dignity, justice and prosperity.

Fellow Freedom Fighters,

Our attitude is clear and decisive:

-- Unwavering faith in peace based on justice; unflinching struggle to liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism, military bases, economic monopolies that plunder the resources of the peoples, continuous action for peaceful co-existence, so that humanity would not live at the mercy of nuclear accumulation and dissemination, and as a preliminary step towards dis-armament and consecration of this tremendous energy wasted in the military field to the service of progress and prosperity; unceasing efforts to alter conditions of foreign trade to guard against the majority of the peoples being exploited and robbed by the technically advanced minority as a result of the historical colonialist plunder.

-- condemnation of racial discrimination another form of slavery in the modern times.

-- firm adherence to non-alignment, which in essence is the freedom to stand by one's principles and the positive undertaking to serve peace and freedom and the rejection of all considerations that may reflect any semblance of dependency or bias.

Furthermore, our people are ever ready to act, are -- actually acting in the international domain, on the basis of a positive movement which rejects isolation and self-pre-occupation.

They believe that peace is indivisible, freedom is -- indivisible, prosperity is indivisible; that the human society is an integrated whole where the individual and the whole are in need of each other, on the basis of equality, mutual respect, common interests and human fraternity.

Freedom fighters,

We know, that imperialism and colonialism can never -- voluntarily change their inherent aggressive nature and -- can never accept defeat. They resort to any tactics ranging from wily and deceptive manoeuvres of penetration to -- flagrant and brutal actions of aggression. As long as --- imperialism and its collateral aspects of colonialism, neo colonialism and reaction survive, our peoples will suffer -- exploitation humiliation, misery and stagnation. We know that we possess immeasurable riches and powers, unlimited capacities for creation and production. We are determined to eliminate for ever this contradiction and no force in -- the world will hinder us from finally wresting our freedom and independence, from winning peace and from coming into our own.

Our programme of action becomes clear:

-- We must continue our struggle to do away with the last entrenched forces of imperialism and old colonialism -- by every means we can, including armed warfare if necessary. This struggle is not only the duty of our brother --- countries still enslaved by this forces, it is our own --- struggle in every part of the three continents.

-- We must carry on a vigilant and unremitting struggle against all neo-colonialists' tactics and machinations. We must foil these attempts wherever they are made and --- specially in newly independent countries in Africa, and -- Latin America.

-- We must exert all our creative efforts to safeguard our national independence against direct or indirect viola tion of our sovereign rights of free and unhampered self - determination.

-- We must foil all aggressive war policies of the -- imperialists and defend world peace established on justice, equality and equal opportunity for all the peoples the world over.

-- We must wage a ruthless and determined struggle against all forms of racial discrimination, apartheid and reducing any community to a second rate status in any part of the world. We know that at the root of these discriminatory policies, lies exploitation and domination.

-- We must put an end to the exploitation of man by man -- and we must establish national economies ensuring full and ---- equal opportunities for all. We must further the common cooperation between the Afro-Asian-Latin American countries and between them and other anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist countries.

-- We must struggle for the liquidation of all foreign --- military bases in the three continents and we must act against the policies of military pacts so as to ensure lasting world -- peace.

-- We must continue the struggle for the ban on the use, - production, tests and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, for the - complete destruction of all existing nuclear weapons, for the - liquidation of all means of their production and for disarmament.

-- We must extend fraternal and unreserved assistance to - the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, --- organise, train and provide with all forms of assistance, libe- ration movements in our countries or in the brotherly countries of the three continents and in particular armed struggle, any- where the people find it necessary.

-- We must act with all means in our hands - which are un- limited - against the policies of economic isolation, blockade or boycott imposed by the imperialist or colonialist powers --- against countries struggling for their liberation or striving - to build their economies on the bases they find appropriate and in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples.

-- We must lay down broad policies of economic planifica- tion both in the internal, regional or international spheres on the bases of equality and mutual interests. We must mobilize - our resources, natural and human for the economic development - of our countries and genuine economic independence in the frame- work of close cooperation and mutual advantage amongst ourselves and with all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist countries, - taking into consideration the principle of self-reliance.

-- We must effect appropriate agrarian reforms in our --- countries, in the form that fits the particular conditions of - each country and within the framework of the above mentioned -- economic development and cooperation.

-- We must work for the speedy formation of national cadres in every field of activity and production.

-- We must promote solidarity throughout the three con- tinents in all spheres of creative activities between econo- mic, scientific, social, educational, artistic and cultural organizations and professional groups. We must enhance com- mon action among trade unions, youth, and women movements, - between jurists, writers, and artists movements.

Inspired by our similar conditions and common heritage, we must continue to revive and build up our great cultural - fund. and contribute to the progress of the whole of mankind through our rich potentialities of civilisation.

Fellow brothers in the struggle,

The struggle of our peoples to liquidate the vestiges of colonialism and to give independence its genuine significance meets strong resistance of colonialism and its world monopolies. The realisation of the ultimate content of independence implies more nutrition, housing, education, insurance of economic and social rights for the peoples. Here appears the counteraction of the world monopolies to this genuine progress for the profits that they reap from our territories are thus endangered, and therefore they continually seek to obstruct this progress by various means.

The elimination of their influence is necessary for our progress. Our United Arab Republic has a tremendous experience in this direction. The attempt to obstruct the construction of the High Dam by the withdrawal of the International Bank was met with the nationalisation of the major imperialist concern, the Suez Canal Company. Following the 1956 tripartite aggression, we eliminated all imperialist pockets in our economy, and it became all ours. This enabled us later, in 1961 to proceed to actual transition towards socialism. Our people, with their own efforts and the assistance of friendly states have succeeded in realising - the first five-year plan - an annual 7.5 per cent increase in our national income - a very high increase for any developing country. Perhaps the experience of the High Dam in Aswan is the best evidence to this. Nevertheless the domination of the world monopolies still obstructs our efforts to develop our own economy in the same way as it does with all newly independent states in the three continents. Action for the establishment of equitable and just economic relations, particularly in the field of raw materials and the products of the developing States, the eradication of monopolistic hold over the destinies of the people is an aim which should receive great attention from us and which should become an integral part of our political programme in the three continents.

Dear Brothers,  
Dear Freedom Fighters,

Our peoples expect from us positive action in both stages: the stage of achieving our genuine and complete freedom, and the stage of achieving cooperation, development, reconstruction, peace and brotherhood in our future.

We assert our full determination to rise up to the expectations of our peoples.

We assert our firm determination to carry out these tasks, to persist in our struggle until we triumph over imperialism -- and colonialism in all their forms, to achieve consolidate and safeguard complete national independence and liberation in all fields, to promote and expand the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Movement, to realise and safeguard world peace, and build up a future world where justice, prosperity and peace prevail.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser has invited the Second Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference to convene in Cairo at the beginning of 1968 in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the First Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference held in Cairo in 1958.

We express here the enthusiastic support of the people of the United Arab Republic to this proposal and we hope that we will meet in the capital of our country.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA,  
AND LATIN AMERICA



EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES BY DELEGATES FROM  
ALGERIA, SYRIA, GUINEA, GHANA (PREVIOUS REGIME),  
AND CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE

(Taken from Conference documents issued in English and French)

These delegations, together with those from the Soviet Union, Communist China, Cuba and the United Arab Republic (whose speeches are quoted textually in the preceding appendices), as well as those from Mongolia, North Korea, North Viet-Nam, Tanzania and Cambodia, were comprised of government officials and representatives of official parties. (See also pages 21 to 34 of Volume I.)

Algeria - M. Adda Benguetat

"They (the Algerian people) are conscious of their duties and obligations and are determined to carry on their struggles within and with the great family of the Afro-Asian Latin American peoples in accordance with the unshakable attachment of the people and their Party, the National Front of Liberation (FLN), to the revolutionary legitimacy instored (sic) on the launching of our armed struggle."

"To this effect we have to intensify the struggle under all its forms, including the armed struggle, which should be granted priority as long as it is true that those people struggling arms in hand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, struggle at the same time for our own victory over western imperialism and its ringleader American imperialism."

"We have to choose the most appropriate means so as to help liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America and implement them as quickly as possible namely in the Dominican Republic and the Congo where the fight has reached its peak, in the Portuguese colonies, in Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, in so called Portuguese Guinea, in Rhodesia..."

Syria - Muhammed Ali Al Khatib

"People and Government of the Syrian Arab Republic support fully the struggle of the peoples of these countries for liberation. We wholeheartedly support the struggles of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Palestine, occupied South Arabia, Oman, Dominican, Congo, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, the so called Portuguese Guinea, South Africa and Laos. We support the struggles of all peoples of Latin America against American imperialism."

"Comrades: Revolutionary movements of the three continents are requested to exchange aid in their one battle against imperialism and colonialism. Solidarity is the road to victory."

Guinea - Abdoulaye Diallo

"Our delegation is gratified to convey the unshakable confidence of our people, of the Democratic Party of Guinea, its Secretary General, our President Ahmed Sekou Touré, to this conference and to its aims of anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist struggle."

.....

"It (the Democratic Party of Guinea) also supports the struggle of the peoples of Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and all the peoples of Latin America for genuine independence."

Ghana - John Kofi Tettegah

"In the name of the Convention People's Party, the General Secretary of our Party, and our leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah..."

.....

"We salute the fighters of the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panamá, Laos, Angola, Mozambique, so called Portuguese Guinea, Congo Leopoldville, Zimbabwe and all those who have taken up arms so that their fatherlands will be rid forever of the imperialist monster."

.....

"We in Ghana will continue to give our material and moral support to them, until final victory is achieved."

.....

"My delegation came to Havana with concrete proposals as to steps to be taken for the victory of our peoples over the common enemy."

Congo-Brazzaville - Julien Boukambou

"In the name of the National Movement of the Congolese Revolution (MNR)..."

.....

"It must be remembered that the question of Viet Nam, of South Africa, of Rhodesia, of Mozambique, of Angola, of Cabinda, of Santo Domingo, and of all of Latin America conditions the subsequent development of the revolutionary struggle in the three continents and requires unity of the combatant forces and solidarity in practice, and not general declarations based on questions of principle."

.....

"We speak to the peoples of America, saying: In the name of truth, the Tricontinental Conference of Havana asks you to awake."

POLITICAL REPORT PRESENTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE  
AND APPROVED BY THE CONFERENCE 1/

The twilight of the XIX century was characterized in Europe and in the United States by the development of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, as well as by the progress of technology, science and culture for the benefit of the privileged minorities who re- tained and enjoyed the fruits of power. It culminated with the appearance of monopoly capital and the increase of financial capitalism. The imperative necessity of expanding existing markets, and the search for other markets to export capital accumulated at the expense of the toils of the peoples, determined while the world was being distributed among the great powers-- the strengthening and extending of the system of colonial rule, which had been set up in Asia, Africa and Latin America --recently freed from the Spanish yoke-- as well as the beginning of a colonial policy of monopolist domination which generated new forms of political and economic subordination. The colonial powers, formed after the great geographical discoveries of the XV and XVI centuries --the first international adventure of the growing capitalist regime-- and the subsequent advent of imperialism established a policy of aggression, exploitation and plunder of the three continents.

As soon as the partition of Asia and Africa was completed by the European powers, the end of the last century and the beginning of this, was characterized by the setting up of zones of influence in which colonial administrations took definite shape, that of repressive and governmental bodies, conceived and organised to put into force a permanent system of exploitation at the service of the metropolis. The ample natural resources and man power of these continents made them both the mainstay of the European colonial powers and the pillars of the system of world imperialism.

The outstanding feature of the process of colonial exploitation in Latin America has been its evolution into new forms of neo-colonial dependence, a phenomenon which originated earlier in that area than in Asia and Africa. There it appeared in its most acute and extended form only a few years ago, when many countries arrived at political independence.

The struggle for independence of most of the colonies of the European powers, and especially those of Spain in Latin America, culminated during the first three decades of the XIX century. Needless to say, the political principles, the economic ideas, social criteria and the juridical standards which inspired this struggle came from the French Revolution and the North American Revolution, both traditional personifications of the beginning of universal domination of the bourgeoisie as a class, and the gradual geographic expansion of its political and economic hegemony in the underdeveloped regions of the world.

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1. Photocopy of English version published by the Tricontinental Conference, in Havana.

Because of the political, economic and social backwardness to which they were submitted by colonial exploitation, the countries newly freed from Spain soon became a favourable field for economic penetration and monopolistic domination by European powers, especially by the United Kingdom. But after the Spanish-Cuban - North American war --which was the first imperialist war recorded in history and a sober preface to the plunder, robbery and crime to be written from then on by Yankee imperialism, European influence in Latin America was progressively substituted by the new colonial system of the United States, aided and abetted in each country by the native oligarchy, which had seized power - when the armed forces of Spain surrendered.

The political independence of Latin American countries was limited in reality to a nominal change of sovereignty which actually meant the strengthening of the semi-feudal, social and economic structure instituted by the colonial domination of Spain, with its corresponding class relations, hierarchy and privileges.

The poverty-stricken, exploited and affronted masses, from which were recruited the heroic and unselfish armies of Bolivar, San-Martin, Sucre, O'Higgins, Paz and Artigas, stayed harshly subjected by the regime of exploitation, oppression, discrimination, ignorance and poverty which burdened them for four centuries and made even worse by disguised impositions of the new colonial system and deceiving intoxicants of "representative democracy". The governments of these countries, servile administrators of the native oligarchy, and mere puppets of imperialism, represented for a great number of years before the world the dramatic farce of a constellation of politically independent nations, although progressively becoming new economic possessions of the United States.

It is important to note that in Latin America the process of substitution of direct forms of colonial exploitation took place at a time when the degree of development of social consciousness of the oppressed masses did not yet permit them to fight for definite objectives, define the class enemy and separate the fiction of national independence from the reality of neo-colonial servitude.

On the contrary, when at the end of the Second World War --in the midst of the emergence of progressive ideas resulting from the defeat of fascism and of international reactionary forces-- the process of independence of most of the European colonies in Asia and Africa began, we are then in a totally different era, in which the death rattle of the old world in agony is intermixed with the birth cry of a new world. The principles, concepts, criteria and standards sustaining the colonial system of imperialism are now confronted by principles, concepts, criteria and standards which challenge it, both in theory and in practice. Their development and diffusion have extended so deeply and widely that they permeate and galvanise large sections of the exploited classes in the oppressed countries. The peoples of Africa and Asia are undoubtedly more mature and politically aware than the countries of Latin America were in a similar situation, possessing as they do a wealth of experience, accumulated in their struggles for national independence.

The following significant events have decisively contributed to widen, deepen and invigorate the struggle of the peoples for their national liberation and for the progress of revolutionary ideas: The October Revolution, an event that changed the historic course of humanity and pointed the way to freedom and full justice to the peoples of the world; the Chinese Revolution; the upsurge of the world socialist system; the increasing struggles for independence from colonialism, the emancipation of many nations of Africa and Asia, and the Cuban Revolution which gave birth to the first socialist state in America.

These events have tipped the balance in favour of progressive, - democratic, socialist and peace and freedom-loving forces, giving impetus to the liberation movements of the peoples and opening the way to national sovereignty for many countries of Africa and Asia. The colonial system of imperialism has disintegrated into pieces.

Under these new conditions and circumstances, the peoples of Asia- and Africa are directing their efforts, with an ever clearer and - firmer conscience, to obtain complete national freedom and to establish themselves as nations independent both from the political and economic point of view. At the same time, the peoples of both continents already independent, or in process of emancipation, are becoming aware of the policy of imperialist expansion that the United States has begun to impose upon them after the Second World War, -- when it began to displace the old European colonial powers with -- such open insolence that it was soon unmasked before international public opinion as the pretended heir of its now less powerful allies, as well as the main support of the colonial system of imperialism -- both in its old and its new manifestations. It blandished the monopoly of the atomic bomb for several years as a symbol and expression of universal predominance and as an arm of blackmail and aggression.

In line with this policy of expansion and hegemony, directed on one hand towards a more effective rule over and exploitation of the --- peoples and, on the other hand towards the establishment of a menacing siege against the socialist nations, the government of the United States began to create a series of alliances and aggressive military pacts throughout the world.

Especially in the Far East, the North American imperialists, who - dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, have concluded aggressive military pacts with their new allies and puppets in Japan, South Korea, the Chinese territory of Formosa, the Philippines and Thailand, occupying the Japanese territories of Okinawa and Ogawara and establishing hundreds of military bases in these areas.

In 1950, in accordance with their policy of war and aggression, the United States imperialists began the invasion of Korea, developed - an aggressive move to "contain China" and recently launched aggression in Viet-Nam and Laos. They are trying to extend the war all -- over Asia.

The United States imperialists, who continue to occupy the southern half of Korea, have turned it into a nuclear rocket base and are -- constantly carrying out war provocations along the military demarcation line in violation of the Armistice Agreement. Particularly - in recent times, the United States imperialist are concocting a collusion between the Japanese reactionary government and the puppet - clique in South Korea, and enforcing the "conclusion" of a criminal "Japan-South Korea Treaty" thus blantly opening a road towards - the re-invasion and the overseas expansion into South Korea of Japanese militarism, which is being rapidly revived. Thus with the revival of Japanese militarism as a lever, they are creating the aggressive North-East Asian Military Alliance and openly pushing forward its policy of aggression against Asian countries.

Now, taking the advantage of the possibilities offered to them by oppression in Asia, the Japanese reactionary forces are rapidly infiltrating South Korea, and stepping up manoeuvres of attacking the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and other Asian countries.

This does not only perpetuate the division of Korea and aggravate - tension, but also creates a serious situation threatening peace and security in Asia and the world.

The United States imperialists also deploy the Seventh Fleet, equipped with nuclear weapons, along the coast of Asia, trying to bring these weapons into Japan and other areas, thus resorting to nuclear blackmail and posing a danger of nuclear war.

This policy of expansion and hegemony of Yankee imperialism is directed chiefly against the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Korea. Accordingly it has concluded with the puppet governments organised in the southern part of Viet-Nam and Korea, arbitrarily divided, separated and aggressive military agreements. Likewise it has signed with the puppets of Taiwan -set up and backed by the North American Seventh Fleet- a similar military pact.

Faced with such a complicated and dangerous situation, the new -- states of Asia and Africa realise that it is a politically imperative necessity to unite their forces and bring about their solidarity for the joint defence of their independence and of the cultural and economic development of their peoples, threatened by distorting foreign influences. Thus, the historic Conference of Bandung -in which the Chiefs of State or Government of twenty-nine -- nations of those two continents participated- was held in April, - 1955.

The Bandung Conference represented a vital landmark in the growing awareness of the peoples of Africa and Asia. It was the culmination of a movement of solidarity which had arisen in and had developed from the days of their fight for national freedom and independence, proclaiming the well known principles of Bandung, of relevant importance for the anti-colonialist movement. The Congress of the Peoples of Asia, assembled in New Delhi in March, 1955, was an outstanding precedent to this Conference.

During this same period the government of the United States manoeuvred to prevent any possibility of union among the balkanised peoples of Latin America. It operated by resorting openly to force or by taking advantage of the servile and corrupt policy of the ruling oligarchies, which at the turn of the century, had accepted the setting up of the Pan-American Union following the directives and under the control of the new rising empire. In 1948, this served as the base to create the Organisation of American States, the sadly famous Yankee Ministry of the Colonies.

The previous year, in 1947, the United States, in accordance with its policy of expansion and hegemony concluded with the governments of Latin America in Rio de Janeiro the infamous Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance for the defence of the hemisphere against imaginary aggressions from outside the continent. The real and only object of this treaty --so events have demonstrated-- was to serve as a docile mechanism to enforce the United States foreign policy on this continent.

The contrast could not be more obvious. While on the one hand, in Bandung, the peoples of Africa and Asia were leading an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle for closer unity and solidarity, on the other hand the majority of the governments of Latin America were betraying the aspirations and interests of their people, and were tying themselves to imperialism in its common policy of exploitation and domination. At the same time while the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, -- fused into a single front in Asia and Africa, North American neo-colonialism in Latin America strengthened and refined its system of political subjection and economic profit with the connivance of the local oligarchies, thus creating complex and difficult situations for the struggle of the peoples for national liberation.

During their heroic struggle against Yankee imperialism, the peoples of Latin America had to suffer, not only the draining of natural resources and the merciless exploitation of their labour force, but also direct military intervention of Yankee imperialism in their internal affairs. In 1898 coinciding with its appearance on the world scene, it intervened in the Cuban war against the Spanish colonial rule. It artfully stole away the independence of Cuba and occupied its territory, grabbed Puerto Rico and other islands in the Caribbean area, as well as the Philippines, and finally arrogated, by the imposition of a treaty, the right to interve in the affairs of Cuba and to occupy a part of its territory in Guantánamo, where -- Yankee imperialism established a naval base against the will of -- the Cuban people.

In 1903, interfering with and acting against the political aspirations of the people of the isthmus of Panama, it imposed by force the adoption of a treaty guaranteeing the control, for their benefit, of international maritime transit between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and at the same giving it the right to establish a strategic military base to serve as a spearhead for its policy of expansion and domination in Latin America and in the world.

On various occasions and under different pretexts, Yankee imperialism has violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a large number of the countries of Latin America in order to maintain its economic privileges, to impose its policy of domination and to intimidate the people. Mexico, Guatemala, Cuba, Colombia, Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic --now the victim of an intervention more brutal and cynical than any previous one-- have been the object of this hateful and rapacious policy.

In one way or another, and in the measure possible, the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for their national liberation followed its course with the same tenacity the peoples of Asia and Africa had shown while trying to weld their solidarity previous to, and above all, after the Bandung Conference.

The struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for independence clearly shows the character of Yankee imperialism. In a premeditated and persistent way, ever since North American imperialism, taking advantage of the collapse of the colonial rule of Spain, grabbed this Isle of the Antilles, it has been exploiting the wealth and toil of the Puerto Rican people, and has been drowning in blood their outbreaks of rebellion. Yankee imperialism has been trying to destroy the cultural wealth of Puerto Rico and to adulterate its history by imposing on it an education contrary to its national tradition. To crush the people of Puerto Rico, Yankee imperialism maintains in the country an enormous military force and some of its bases there are equipped with atomic weapons. Puerto Rico constitutes an outdated remnant of the oldest and most predatory form of colonialism in our hemisphere.

The African liberation movement, developing simultaneously with the revolutionary movements of the post Second World War era, dates more precisely with the Manchester Conference of 1945. This Conference, organised and conducted by contemporary African leaders, formulated the strategy for political action of the struggle of the liberation movement of Africa. Characteristically, the tempo of the movement was to be determined by historical factors. The political divisions of the continent under the oppressive rule of the colonial powers had the effects of limiting the unity of purpose and action throughout the continent.

The revolutionary creed of the Manchester Conference --Positive Action-- successfully implemented in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) completely swept aside British colonialism in this area in 1957. In East Africa, what was characterised as the Mau Mau uprising was -- certainly the manifestation of the revolutionary upsurge initiated by the Manchester Conference of 1945. In view of the entrenched interests of the imperial masters in this part of Africa the struggle here took on an intense confrontation no different from an armed -- struggle. On the other hand, the liberation movement in the former French colonial area, under the banner of the R.D.A. (Rassemblement Democratique Africain), became crucial in the liquidation of French colonialism.

Further accelerating the decolonisation throughout the continent, -- the First Conference of All the Peoples of Africa held in Accra, Ghana, in 1958 galvanised into one front the organisational efforts of the fighters for freedom directed to unleash a massive assault on -- the colonial regimens of Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal. The achievements of the liberation movement since 1958 are brilliant -- landmarks of the struggle in Africa; Belgian colonialism in the Congo crumbled down as did the white-dominated Federation of Central -- Africa made up by the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Like the conference of All the Peoples of Africa, the first meeting of the Heads of State and Government held later in Accra was simply to strengthen at a summit level the peoples' determination to wipe out imperialism by various means. But colonialism and imperialism -- die hard; the massive decolonisation of the 1960's in Africa was a deceptive phenomenon. Neo-colonialism only superseded traditional -- colonialism. And what are the characteristics of this new colonialism? The colonial power retaining military and economic interests continues to dominate the economic and political life of the ex-colony long -- after formal political independence. It must be understood nevertheless, that this change in form from colonialism to neo-colonialism does not imply a complete change in political tactics. Just as colonialism and imperialism for too long successfully employed policies of "divide and rule" so also does neo-colonialism.

The astounding successes of the liberation movement in Africa are -- yet to be crowned with victory over neo-colonialism if the Organisation of African Unity could survive the machinations of the neo-colonial powers, Africa's ultimate victory will be won. But throughout its history the Organisation has become a victim of the diabolical -- policies of "divide and rule" engineered by the neo-colonial powers. This implies an evergrowing need of intensifying the struggle until final victory is reached.

An analysis of the struggle in the African continent since the Second World War shows that it has been rent by a heroic resistance of the peoples against foreign oppressors and exploiters. The African -- peoples at last have risen in arms against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. These struggles represent noble chapters in -- their history. These are some of these chapters:

- 1.- The Egyptian revolution of 1952.
- 2.- Positive action and the birth of the Republic of Ghana.
- 3.- Guinea's open defiance of French colonialism.
- 4.- The epic seven-year patriotic war of the Algerian people.
- 5.- The heroic resistance of the Kenyan people.
- 6.- The undaunted courage of the African peoples under the heels of apartheid and white domination.
- 7.- The gallant struggle of the Africans in the so-called Portuguese colonies against Portuguese colonialism.

Out of these struggles new African states are being born. The emergence of sovereign African states, however, has coincided with the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism. Hence the inevitable march of history has involved the African peoples in a mortal struggle with neo-colonialism. The logical climax of this struggle gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity. The First Conference of independent African states in 1958 elaborated and proclaimed the goals and strategy of African unity. The strategy of African unity is that of total liberation and complete independence for Africa at a time when the crisis of imperialism is more acute. This is the theory and practice of African emancipation.

In present times when Africa's basic problem is to free itself from centuries of colonial subjugation, the concept of African unity is essentially directed against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Africa's vital interests still are the end of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, the construction of a new economic, social and political order and the safeguarding of world peace.

Inspired and guided by the principles formulated in Bandung, the unity movement of the Afro-Asian Peoples, having an outstanding precedent in the Congress of Asian Peoples held in New Delhi the previous year, is being consolidated, drawn together and broadened.

A very important event in the history of the liberation movement took place in 1956. According to its program for political and economic liberation, the Egyptian Revolution nationalised the Suez Canal, an action that led to the tripartite aggression of Great Britain, France and Israel, which was defeated by the struggle of the Egyptian people with the militant solidarity of the peoples of the world.

The victory of the Egyptian Revolution over the colonialist and imperialist powers was a great step forward in the struggle for liberation, as is clearly demonstrated by the fact that imperialism could not prevent it. The first Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples held in Cairo, United Arab Republic, from December 1957 to January 1958, was the decisive point in the tasks of consolidating and organising the solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples.

The Organisation for the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples was created in this first Conference, and the Permanent Secretariat, which has been successfully working for the last 8 years, was elected.

During the Second Conference held in Conakry, Guinea, the Organisation for the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples was more strongly consolidated, broadening its activities through the recently organised Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund..

The Organisation gained new strength, and has solved many important problems in subsequent meetings; the Third Conference in Moshi, Tanzania in 1963, and in Winneba, Ghana in 1965.

These efforts, together with the creation of new independent states, mainly African, has strengthened the struggle and made it more effective.

The expression of this solidarity has been shown in a large number of agreements, resolutions and practical measures adopted in the course of this vast movement as well as in countless international conferences of various types.

The resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Economic Seminary held in Algiers at the beginning of 1965, contributed to strengthen the fighting unity in this field and to define clearly the consequences of imperialist exploitation.

The Organisation of Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples held important conferences in various fields of Afro-Asian Solidarity, as for example: The First Conference of Afro-Asian Youth in Cairo, U.A.R. in 1959; the First Conference of Afro-Asian Women in Cairo, U.A.R., in 1961; the First Conference of Afro-Asian - - - Writers in Tashkent, U.S.S.R., in 1958; the Second Conference of Afro-Asian Writers in Cairo, U.A.R., in 1962, etc. It is especially necessary to emphasize the increasing unity among African countries, which in 1963 were already able to create the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Similar objectives have also been reached in the regular meetings held by the heads of Arab States at a summit level during this period.

On the other hand, the Conferences of Chiefs of State and Government of the non-aligned countries, especially at the second conference held at Cairo in 1964, in which the majority of the liberated countries of Asia and Africa, as well as Cuba and observers from Latin America participated, were very effective steps in the struggle for self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the peoples, and for the unity of anti-imperialist forces, as well as in denouncing and rejecting aggressions and intervention by imperialist powers.

As a counterpart to this movement of solidarity, imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism have created their African O.A.S. in the Malagasy Common African Organisation (MCAO).

In the sphere of cultural and educational exchange, the outstanding event in the movement of solidarity was the holding of the athletic competition of the new emerging forces in Indonesia, in 1963, and the creation of the GANEFO organisation.

In Latin America, the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 was a turning point in the development of the anti-imperialist - - struggle, which showed itself in the strengthening of existing - - revolutionary movements, and in the widening and deepening of the fighting conscience of the masses. It can be affirmed that following this significant event the strategy of Yankee imperialism in that part of the world was conditioned by the increasing strength of the Cuban Revolution which shook the bases of the Yankee imperialist system in America and destroyed the myth of geographic fatalism. It revealed the new correlation of forces in the world and demonstrated the possibility of revolutionary struggle and - victory of the peoples in this continent, and further furnished a firm base for the struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for their self determination, independence and - sovereignty.

These antecedents and circumstances as a whole made the broad and powerful Afro-Asian Solidarity movement reach out towards Latin -

America, and examine similar experiences of the struggles and hardships of the three continents --all subjected to the same policy of exploitation, aggression and intervention of the imperialist and colonialist powers-- together with the peculiarities originating from various historical, economic, social and cultural conditions.

The Second Declaration of Havana approved in a General Assembly of the people of Cuba as of February 4, 1962, had already expressed the following: "what is the history of Cuba if not the history of Latin America? And what is the history of Latin America if not the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania?" and "what is the history of these peoples but the history of the most merciless and cruel exploitation by imperialism in the entire world?"

The need for organising the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents was first raised during the Fourth Session of the Council of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples, held at Bandung, in April 1961, the same month and year as the imperialist aggression at Playa Giron, crushed by the Cuban people in less than seventy two hours. This resounding victory undoubtedly inspired the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with new stimulus, vigor and drive.

At this meeting, attended for the first time in the history of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement by an observer from Latin America, in the person of a representative of the Cuban Revolution, the study of the possibilities for holding a conference of solidarity of the three continents was recommended. On the basis of this recommendation, the Executive Committee of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples in its meeting at Gaza, Palestine, in December of that same year, passed a resolution tending to prepare the convening of a conference of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In 1962, a Cuban delegation attended, as observers, the Second Conference of Afro-Asian Jurists that took place in Conakry, from the 15th to the 20th of October.

The First Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace held in Mexico in 1961, unquestionably contributed to foster conditions for a Tri-Continental Conference by declaring itself in favor of it.

During the Third Conference of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples celebrated at Moshi in 1963, decisive and concrete steps were taken. In this Conference, also attended by a Cuban delegate as observer, an invitation from the Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, Major Fidel Castro, was extended. It offered Havana as the seat for the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Moshi Conference received the invitation with enthusiasm, set up the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, and adopted a special resolution to this effect.

The Preparatory Committee should be formed by eighteen members - or organisations from the following countries; Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, ---- South Africa, People's Republic of China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet-Nam. After the --- Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity, at Winneba, Ghana . this later country was elected to replace Morocco, to which was given the Chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee in the vigor- ous revolutionary personality of el Mahdi Ben Barka. The Moshi - Conference was a demonstration of the full support for the cele- bration of a Tri-Continental Conference given by all the move--- ments and organisations that struggle against imperialism, colo- nialism and neo-colonialism, for complete national independence and for the peace and progress of the peoples of Africa, Asia -- and Latin America.

The sixth meeting of the Council of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Al- giers decided to convene the twelve African and Asian members in order to set up the conditions for the formation of the Prepara- tory Committee. Measures to carry out this were adopted at the - meeting held in Cairo, in April 1964, where the following Latin American countries were accepted as members of the Preparatory - Committee: Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and Cuba.

In the Fourth Conference of Solidarity held in Winneba, the his- toric decision was adopted to convoke a meeting of the Prepara- tory Committee in Cairo, and to hold the First Conference of Soli- darity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in Hava- na in the first days of January 1966, a date coinciding with the Seventh Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. In the Cairo meet- ing it was decided that the final list of participants would be determined through consultations with the Chairman and the Secre- tary General of the Preparatory Committee, with the African and Asian representatives of the Organisation of Solidarity of the - Peoples of Africa and Asia, and with the six representatives of Latin America.

The Cuban Revolution and the most representative organisations - of the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America have shown --- their solidarity with the Asian and African peoples in an active and consistent manner on different occasions, and especially on the most critical ones- as for instance- the Yankee imperialist intervention in South Viet-Nam and the subsequent aggression --- against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; the Belgian-North - American-British intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville); and - previously; during the Algerian War of liberation; with the peo- ple of Cyprus in their fight for self-determination and full so- vereignty ; as well as in the case of other African countries, - numerous demonstrations of solidarity and assistance having taken place in Latin America. This solidarity was kept alive and vi--- brant throughout the development of the anti-imperialist strug- gles of the Afro-Asian peoples, especially during such times as the imperialist aggression in Korea in 1950, the war of French - colonialism against the people of Viet-Nam, the Anglo-French-Is- raeli intervention in Egypt, the criminal policy of racial dis- crimination pursued in South Africa and other African States by the imperialists and in support of all campaigns waged in both continents against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

At the same time, the movement of solidarity of the Afro-Asian - peoples with those of Latin America has expressed itself consis- tently, above all in the case of Cuba, which had its support in the struggle against Yankee imperialism. Similarly the people of the Dominican Republic was backed when suffering the armed inter- vention of imperialism.

The Movement of Afro-Asian solidarity has also declared itself -- for the abolition of colonialism in Latin America, and in favour of the fight of the peoples of Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique and British Guiana for their national liberation. Likewise it has expressed itself unequivocally for the elimination of North-American military bases located in Latin America, for the end of all forms of racial discrimination in the United States and of -- the neo-colonialist policy of oppressing Latin American countries and also in support of their struggles against the policy of exploitation, aggression and intervention of Yankee imperialism.

The movement of militant solidarity among the peoples of the three continents in a joint defence and unity for their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism that was spontaneous at the outset, began, in consonance with the facts, to lay the bases for its organization and development into an undeniable living reality.

The celebration of this Conference in Havana is an event of world wide importance. For the first time, delegates of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist militant organizations of the three continents meet together. For the first time, the ideas tending to -- unify efforts towards the eradication of all forms of colonialism which imperialist and colonialist powers stubbornly insisting prolonging; to frustrate the aggressions of imperialism and of the reactionary forces of the three continents; to accelerate the liberation of the peoples; to assure their economic, social -- and cultural development; to consolidate the movement of solidarity of Africa, Asia and Latin America; and to maintain active and permanent the linking and coordination of all countries struggling to achieve or to maintain their independence, take a definite shape. All these joint efforts and the concrete measures to be -- adopted in order to materialise their solidarity in every sense, -- will help to strenghten and widen this fight even more, and will be a severe blow to the backbone of imperialism.

There is no more appropriate setting for the celebration of the -- Tri-Continental Conference than the capital of Cuba, whose people, after having conquered by force of arms its full self-determination, independence and sovereignty, resists unswervingly imperialist aggression in the form of brutal economic blockade; implacable political hostility; constant infiltration of spies, saboteurs -- and subversive agents; mercenary invasion; provocations from the Yankee military base arbitrarily located in Cuban soil; piratical raids and the real and permanent danger of a direct military ---- attack.

This Conference in itself constitutes, because of this circumstance, a powerful demonstration of support and solidarity from the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples to Cuba and its Revolution, and also to the peoples of the three continents that at this very moment are struggling for their freedom, and most of all to those facing imperialism in Viet-Nam, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, Peru, Angola, Guatemala, Mozambique, the so-called --- Portuguese Guinea Colombia and so many countries, weapons in hand and under the most dramatic conditions. Their sacrifice and heroism will enlighten its deliberations and resolutions, which will surely be implemented by effective and concrete measures of help and solidarity towards these sister peoples.

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is meeting at a time when the imperialists and the forces of reaction are unable to extinguish the flames of the movement of national liberation, nor change the path taken by the countries that have achieved their independence. In view of all this, it is obvious that the imperialist system is in crisis and that its own internal contradictions are becoming more acute, lessening its capacity to manoeuvre. The powerful impulse of world public opinion, which rejects the outdated pretensions of the colonialists and neo-colonialists -- supplied and directed by the Government of the United States, -- the military and ideological source of the forces now operating against the interests of the peoples.

We all know the way imperialism operates. Its very reason for existence opposes national emancipation at every stage. Imperialism has never left a single ray of hope for the peoples of the world. The balance of its behaviour is very evident: exploitation and discrimination; backwardness and poverty; cultural sterility and contempt for traditions and national dignity. This is its sole legacy. The unrestricted disposal of national wealth, the full development of the diverse ways of expression in each country, the unblemished decorum and self-determination, are fruits that the poisonous tree of imperialism does not bear. Nor could it be otherwise, because the very basis of imperialism, that is to say, the benefits obtained by the huge capitalist monopolies from both the man power and the material resources of the peoples under their rule, would disappear if its principal aim were eliminated. This is its only goal. It has no other. Because of this, any concession that imperialism may seem to make, is not a rectification of conduct, but only a tactical withdrawal.

History, logic and reason prove that in the long list of the deeds of imperialism there is not, and cannot be room for withdrawal. Military operations to conquer the peoples, or capitalist penetration to yoke them are two streams of the same torrent of mud and blood that for centuries has been flowing from colonialism. Brute force or the corrupting influence of money, threat and intimidation, economic blockade and diplomatic isolation, defamation and deceit are the weapons employed either separately or all together. In the long history of imperialist crimes, not a single step has been taken to favour the peoples. Nothing has been done that would imply a limitation of privileges; nothing has been said, but to offend; nothing has been attempted but to sacrifice its victims and to increase the power of the metropolis.

The so-called tactic of "war of escalation" unleashed against the heroic people of Viet-Nam is the most recent manifestation of these aggressive actions.

The despoiled masses have resisted and rebelled against the wicked plunder they have been subjected to. Never have they resigned themselves to poverty and humiliation, but instead, in their unceasing struggle for freedom, they have gained strength, increased their experience, and with a growing political knowledge have continued to pursue unity and solidarity in spite of distances in order to fight their oppressors. Every step forward towards freedom and independence has been won by popular rebellion. Not a single example can be cited in which the accomplishment was a consequence of the mercy or the repentance of the exploiters. These ones abandoned their positions only when existing conditions opened the way and the peoples, knowing how to take advantage of this, became makers of history. Paced with the

thirst for justice of all the peoples, the voracity of the exploiters has turned into desperate actions, criminal interventions, bloody repressions and in the long run into defeat, and sooner or later the liberation movements, blandishing the indestructible arms of justice and assisted and encouraged by the moral force of conscientiousness march unrestrainably forward to final victory.

Victory, however, is not the fruit of spontaneous generation. -- Breaking the barriers that prevented their development, the different societies of history slowly made their way through to progress, but the differences in available material resources, the accumulation of capital and the use of techniques applicable to the production of goods for peace, or for war, the abysmal differences in the levels of knowledge imposed upon the poor masses by the wealthy classes, brought about the monstrous disproportion of today. It not only reflects the injustice of the imperialist system and of its colonial variants, but also explains the backwardness of some peoples in relation to others in the liberation process. That is why it is a great responsibility of the Tri-Continental Conference to determine correctly the forms, ways and means to be followed in order to surmount these barriers which hinder the emancipation of the exploited classes, whether political, ideological or cultural or in connection with every form of struggle including armed struggle.

One objective lesson that should not be forgotten is the history of international relations. Sometimes taking on the title of "spheres of influence", at other times "balance of power", either "dollar diplomacy" or "the big stick"; sending aggressive expeditionary forces to other lands or in the case of alliances or doctrines, as the Monroe Doctrine, the truth is that the original purpose and the final result is the imperial domination of weaker countries, the distribution of the colonies, the exploitation of the riches and toil of other peoples. The revealing and denunciation of the thousand faces of imperialism and the unmasking of its tactics are important tasks in warning the people and orientating them correctly in the struggle to halt the aggressors.

Each people must decide its own destiny and must not be subject to a rule foreign to its vital interests, emancipation being an intimate part of the historic development of society. So long as the tutelage of one country over another still exists, the cycle which each nation must follow will be incomplete. It is also true that the internal organisation of each society will reach its greatest development only when it has political and economic freedom as its base, and when this society enjoys autonomy of action in the world scene. These are historic axioms impressed upon the minds of the masses and there is no other way of applying them except by capturing the positions of imperialism. The imperialist system is today the main obstacle to progress.

Liberation is a right which the imperialists stubbornly fail to recognise. This inalienable right is born of the unjust nature of oppression. Eager to cover up their crimes, the imperialists and their oligarchic agents invent false legal arguments to justify the use of laws and agreements which they themselves took on, but which are no longer useful to their interests.

In the face of the growing struggle of the oppressed peoples to shake off the yoke of imperialist exploitation, the imperialists, especially the North Americans, use the incredibly cynical argument that this fight constitutes a foreign aggression, when it is their own bloody repressions that bring on a brutal armed intervention against the rights of peoples to independence and social progress.

This argument has been used by Yankee imperialism, to try to justify its criminal intervention in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic.

The House of Representatives of the United States, in a recent resolution, proclaimed the alleged right of the United States to intervene with its armed forces in any Latin American country in order to crush the revolutionary movement.

In opposition to this arbitrary norm of international conduct announced and carried out by imperialism, the Conference must proclaim and carry out the right of each subjected country to solidarity; the right and the duty of all countries to assist, by all means within their power, those peoples who are fighting for their national liberation, in every corner of the world.

In our time we find appropriate conditions in Africa, Asia and Latin America to purify the atmosphere of the poisonous fumes of colonialism, which keep millions of human beings economically asphyxiated and offended in their dignity. These conditions emerge from the actual modes of existence of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans, from the history of their hardships and struggles and from the extraordinary impetus which the modern era has achieved in science, technology and culture. The dramatic contrast between the conditions of the masses and the exploiting classes, together with the political clarification of their consciousness, are also powerful ingredients which today create exceptional circumstances for the ripening of the process of liberation.

In the light of these undeniable realities, one fact emerges strongly; peoples must be followed in their march forward. If the fight for their liberation is a right of the peoples, this fight is also the inexcusable duty of all revolutionaries. Right paths must be opened along which the heroic people will move to the final attainment of its destiny. On whom does this glorious task fall? On whom does history impose such great obligation? The revolutionary anti-imperialist vanguards of the three continents are the ones called upon to create the subjective conditions wherever they are lacking, and to join the popular insurrection, wherever it has already begun. It is a task that can not be evaded. Not only the prestige before the masses of the patriotic, revolutionary and anti-imperialist parties and movements, but also their own reason for existing are committed to this implacable fight against the forces striving to hold back the advance of humanity.

The Tri-Continental Conference, of course, faces a difficult and complex task. The meeting of the representatives of the revolutionary forces, of the national liberation movements and the mass organisations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America is something of great significance and importance. The Conference meets at a time that may be considered decisive, not only in the history of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

but also in the history of all humanity; a moment of rapid advance of the national liberation movements against imperialism and both old and new colonialism, the fight for total national independence and world peace. These circumstances make the task easier, but do not free the way from obstacles.

During eight years of constant struggle, of militant action and close cooperation, the representatives of Africa and Asia went from victory to victory, establishing brotherly bonds forged in the struggle for common interests and objectives which arose from a common inheritance and from similar historic conditions. These same factors make imperative the need for tighter fraternal cooperation among the three large continents. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by North-American Imperialism and the achievement and consolidation of national independence of these three continents is the most urgent task of their peoples. Furthermore national reconstruction and the establishment of the bases for new economic, social and cultural structures in the emerging countries of Asia and Africa is now on the go, and these facts add new responsibilities.

The struggle to achieve an independent economy and emancipation from the economic yoke of the colonial powers, the struggle against the penetration of neo-colonialism under different disguises in the newly independent countries is reaching new proportions. Nowadays this struggle on the economic front is apparently difficult and the future road of reconstruction depends on the victory of such a struggle.

The Conference must prepare plans to give even more drive to the glorious battles which brighten the horizon of this promising situation. To carry out this task effectively it is necessary to investigate and analyse exhaustively the multiple forms of the tortuous behaviour of imperialism, to extract lessons from experience and to foresee its tactics in order to carry out a suitable activity which may shorten the struggle, striking in the most sensitive areas, keeping principles safe and planning firm action which will not conclude until the extermination of the common enemy. The struggle for liberty and independence is really constituted by a series of episodes more advanced in some countries than in others, but already on a triumphal march. This struggle, endorsed by the blood of millions of heroes and martyrs, has a definite route.

The drawing together of the revolutionary movements of Asia and Africa has proven its extraordinary value, surpassing the test of time, surpassing barriers and difficulties, to emerge as a force which not only represents a contemporary historic reality but is also able to grow and join the revolutionary forces of Latin America to make possible the creation of what may one day be one of the greatest historic movements in the world.

The enemy maintains a policy of hostility in all geographic zones and the anti-imperialists must carry out actions which will be an adequate answer to this aggression on a world scale.

The importance of the struggle in some locations over others will never mean -nor will it justify- the abandoning, the weakening or the cooling of the struggle in spots of a transitory, lesser urgency. The struggle is total and complete, without alternatives. The three continents must unite as one.

Within the context of the historical tri-continental movements, the consolidation of independence and national sovereignty of the peoples that had left behind the colonial and semi-colonial bonds carry a seal of urgency in our deliberations. The new colonial form of exploitation known to Latin America for more than a century, and still known to Asia and Africa, is expressed in different ways. Imperialism which uses all types of weapons in its eagerness for profit and control must be opposed by watchfulness and ideological preparation. The masses must be equipped to fight against brutal aggression but also to unmask neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism implies not only the exportation of capital, economic penetration, intervention in internal affairs, political subversion but also cultural corruption and the spread of deceptive and poisonous ideologies, with the intention of destroying national conscience. The independence and sovereignty of the peoples are not only guaranteed by sound governmental measures of internal order, to safeguard the volume of national wealth without foreign interventions, but also through the practice of international aid of the revolutionary governments and with increasing watchfulness over imperialism's intentions to twist the historical truth and separate the peoples from the knowledge of correct ideas which will lead them to clear reasoning of the destiny they must pursue.

Imperialism headed by the United States in the present historical moment, with its confusing policy, its conspiracies and its lack of scruples has created an atmosphere of violence affecting peace and world security. Yankee imperialism by maintaining international tensions, by installing aggressive military bases throughout the world and by imposing its will by force with mockery of all principles of civil rights, is reaping the hatred of the peoples and is being rejected by all for its crimes and pillage. This same offensive conduct is accelerating its decomposition, and worsening the crisis of the system. Coercion and threat, bribery and armed intervention, blockades and the contempt for the sovereignty of the nations resisting its penetration gradually applied in different forms according to the thesis of escalation are tactics imperialism resorts to in order to save itself.

We cannot accept the lesser step as an alternative for the following one. We cannot allow ourselves to be deceived or intimidated. The fight is unto death.

The peoples of the three continents must answer imperialist violence with revolutionary violence not only to safeguard national independence, achieved at a high price, but also to obtain the liberation of the peoples fighting to shake off the colonial yoke. The peoples, subjugated and exploited by imperialism are already becoming aware that under present historical circumstances, where legal channels are closed by pressure and by the predominance of yankee monopoly control and where imperialism and its lackeys carry out repressions and persecutions the effective channel to reach victory is armed insurrection. Therefore, we must back and fully develop the various effective means of struggling, including armed struggle.

Vietnam, Algeria, Cuba, give us enlightening examples that will persist in the annals of history as proofs that nothing can bar the way of the peoples, no matter how small they are or how close they are to the imperialist and colonialist bastions, if these peoples insist on fighting unswervingly to achieve and defend their rights.

Support of the Cuban Revolution and the patriotic struggles of Latin American peoples is, doubtless, one of the focal points in the world process of the anti-imperialist movement because it is the area which the United States government has reserved traditionally for its exclusive benefit, from which it extracts numerous resources to feed its interventionist colonial policy; for having a decisive political significance in our era. Support of Cuba and the Latin American revolutionary movements means the strengthening of the most sensitive areas of the world where the peoples resist the bastion of world imperialism at their front door.

Yankee imperialism's global strategy carries out vandalic action - which today has its most outstanding manifestations in the aggression against the Vietnamese people and in the military occupation of Santo Domingo. In both cases it demonstrates the barefaced ferocity and cynicism of those who threaten world peace and also the despair caused by the agony of the system.

In Viet-Nam, Yankee imperialism has unmasked itself once more before world opinion as the international gendarme and the number one common enemy of humanity. It has proven that its villainies know no limits by incessantly intensifying its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, trampling on the inalienable national rights of the Vietnamese people and committing all types of crimes including genocide, in flagrant violation both of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Viet-Nam and international law.

The Vietnamese people is suffering the worst manifestations of North American imperialism which invades the Southern part of the country with a veritable Yankee expeditionary force and wages by air a cruel war of destruction against the northern part of the country. In Viet Nam the people witness day by day the murdering of their best men by Yankee bullets and bombs. Their peaceful villages, their schools, their hospitals, their industrial centers where population is heavily concentrated their dams and hydraulic constructions are being bombed and destroyed by Yankee airplanes. At the same time that North American imperialism perpetrates its intolerable villainies against the people of Viet-Nam, it makes itself most repulsive as a result of its hypocritical and shameless propaganda about what they call "the unconditional negotiations".

On the other hand the heroic and victorious resistance of the South Vietnamese people under the direction of the National Liberation Front against Yankee aggression, and the brilliant victories achieved by the people of North Viet-Nam, constitute an inexhaustible source of inspiration and encouragement for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin-America, inciting them to intensify, in all three continents and by all possible means, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by Yankee imperialism.

That is why at this moment, the defence of Viet-Nam's just cause has become an essential matter and criterion for the revolutionary strategy of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for the socialist countries and for the progressive sectors and classes of capitalist nations.

Because of this, undoubtedly the present Conference will devote special and preferred attention to the Vietnamese question. -- It is essential to continue mobilizing all revolutionary forces in the world and continue giving all kinds of moral, political and material support which might be necessary for the people of Viet-Nam. The present Conference should adopt concrete and efficient measures in relation to the Viet-Nam problem. It is -- necessary at the same time, to emphasize the unavoidable duty -- of all the revolutionary forces in the world to support openly the points stated by the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the solution of the Vietnamese problem, i.e. to demand -- from the United States Government the respect for and the correct application of the Geneva Agreements of 1954; the immediate cessation of the war of aggression of Yankee imperialism in South Viet-Nam and the bombings against North Viet-Nam; the immediate withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of all U.S. troops and war material in order to let the South Vietnamese people solve their internal problems by themselves.

The present Conference considers the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam the only and authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people and expresses its firmest conviction that, under the leadership of the NLF the South Vietnamese people will -- undoubtedly obtain final victory.

Since the Second World War, the growing tide of the African revolution has wrested political power from the hands of the colonialists in a great part of the continent. However, with cunning, neo-colonialist methods, they can still keep their economic, political and military power.

In the southern part of Africa we find that domination is exercised by the vicious triumvirate of Smith, Salazar and Verwoerd.

In these immense regions, domination still persists by a small white minority with which imperialist forces desperately try to contain the tide of progress.

The most powerful force maintaining the dominion by the white minority is South Africa, where 115 million pounds sterling are spent yearly in weapons; where 8,500 political prisoners languish in dungeons, and where oppression, for reasons of colour alone, is the official policy of the state, supported by the most brutal military and police forces.

Verwoerd however, depends for his existence on Great Britain, the United States, West Germany, powers which are members of NATO, and on Japan. Experience has shown that to the extent to which the fascist regime of Verwoerd is permitted to maintain its power over Africans and other non-white peoples, the well-armed regime of South Africa constitutes a very real and dangerous threat to the safeguarding of the independence of the African states and to world peace.

This Conference must consider giving all material and moral help to the peoples of southern Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South-West Africa and South Africa in their hard and militant revolutionary struggle to overthrow the hated minority of the racist regimes and obtain their national independence.

Africa, and the anti-imperialist forces cannot overlook the recent and illegal seizure of power by a racist minority in Southern --

Rhodesia. This fact that is being universally condemned at the moment, is of the utmost importance to the struggle the entire African Continent is carrying out.

The rising of a minority regime backed by imperialist powers --- further strengthen the "apartheid" regime based on hatred and racial discrimination. The destiny of the liberation struggle in southern Africa is linked to Rhodesia's struggle.

The Yankee invasion to Santo Domingo is criminal and repulsive. In view of world reaction in the face of the aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic, the imperialist aggressors pretend with extraordinary impudence to give a legal form to this sordid intervention. The patriotic reaction of the Dominican people which deserves our most-militant solidarity, has unmasked imperialism and has given an excellent example of courage and dignity.

It is the duty of this Conference to denounce the presence of imperialism in South Africa and the Zionist colonialism in Palestine, and it should call for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people and for their return to their usurped country.

This aspect is intimately bound up with the fight against discrimination and racism, the ideological pillars of colonialism and all forms of exploitation of man by man. It is because of this that the Conference must strongly condemn racial discrimination, because imperialism tries to make nations into slaves of the great monopolies.

In the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, in the so-called Portuguese Guinea and in the very heart of the United States, racism presents its most violent forms, however this shows itself in all places where there are men who live at the expense of others.

That is how the indigenous masses of Latin America are exploited and discriminated against by the native oligarchies, agents of neo-colonialism; how Latin Americans in general are despised by the settlers from the North regardless of their origins or physical characteristics, how the Negroes from Africa and from America are looked down upon as inferior, barbaric and backward peoples, how the Asians were submitted to systematic humiliation by the colonialists' attempt to destroy their ties with their millennial history.

Against that policy of oppression and inequality and of division pursued by colonialism and neo-colonialism, the only possibility is unity and equality between the peoples of the three continents. Against the violent action of the colonialists there is only one alternative: servitude or struggle; and it is under combat fire, in the common fight against the exploiter, where all the barriers, based on differences of color, customs, habits and languages, shall disappear in order that humanity may make history collectively.

Today in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the situation has reached a climax, especially after the unilateral declaration of independence by the racist government of the white minority. The British and Portuguese imperialists and the racists from Rhodesia and South Africa, with the help and cooperation of Yankee imperialism are organising a plot to turn the southern part of Africa into a bastion of neo-colonialism, in order to dominate the rest of Africa from this base. This plot represents a serious danger for the

independence of the whole African continent.

At this moment it is important to carry out the battle for unity between Africa, Asia and Latin America and the progressive forces of the world so as to frustrate the plans of the imperialists, - and especially in the Congo where they are a threat to all the - peoples of Africa, to give ample support to the Congolese people in their fight against the mercenary agents of the exploiters, - and offer material and moral support to the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

Hostilities in the African continent represent one of the most - sensitive aspects in the general picture of the fight against -- imperialism. This is closely related to the fight against discrimination and racial bias which the colonialists express with special virulence there.

In the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, in the so-called Portuguese - Guinea, in Southern Rhodesia or the Union of South Africa, the - fight against economic servitude goes hand in hand in importance with the defence of one of the basic human rights: the equality - of all men. Racial discrimination, typical of imperialism, is - manifest in the policy of "apartheid", and in the denial of civil rights to Negro citizens in the United States. Because of its - inhuman foundations which deeply offend the dignity of all honest men it is a subject of the highest priority in the agenda of the - Conference.

The first Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America should express its severest condemnation of the Paris kidnapping and almost certain murder of El Mahdi Ben Barka, President of the Preparatory Committee, and one of the most prominent figures in the fight for national liberation in Africa. It - is obvious that this abominable and dastardly act was planned -- and perpetrated by agents of imperialism and international reac-- tion, both equally interested in obstructing the celebration of this great event of anti-imperialist and revolutionary solidarity. It is imperative that this criminal act be thoroughly investigated and solved, and that the material and intellectual authors be made responsible for their crime. Whatever the fate of comrade Ben - -Barka, it is only fair that the Conference acknowledge his extra- ordinary contribution to the development and holding of this event.

Recent history corroborates, with utmost clarity, that Yankee -- imperialism is the greatest enemy of world peace; the fortress of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the bastion of the forces of -- reaction, the public enemy number one of all the peoples of the - world. Therefore to fight for national liberation, self-determi- nation, independence and peace fundamentally means to fight with- out quarter against North-American imperialism, which is respon-- sible for the worsening of the international situation, because - -of its policy of intervention, aggression and subversion all -- over the world.

The strategy used by the revolutionary movements in their strug- gle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and especial- ly against Yankee imperialism (principal enemy of the peoples) - demands a greater binding and tightening of the ties of militant solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. - the working classes and the progressive forces of capitalist --- countries in Europe, the United States and the socialist camp. This solidarity must be expressed in concrete actions of support-

of the peoples that are victims of imperialist aggressions, like in the case of Viet-Nam, where the movement of national liberation has the support of all the peoples of the world, while imperialist aggression has its unanimous rejection.

Imperialist strategy in Africa, Asia and Latin America makes it imperative that the peoples of the three continents together with those of the socialist world maintain the closest solidarity and the utmost militant action in their fight against the common enemy. The aid of the peoples of the socialist camp is vital for the development of the liberation movements.

It is obvious that the militant solidarity of the peoples of the three continents is a necessity which cannot be postponed, dictated by the identity of problems and common aspirations. This solidarity is imposed by the dialectics of events, since the aggressive actions of imperialism have taken on a global character, threatening the self-determination, independence, sovereignty and security of all the nations of the World.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE<sup>1/</sup>

RESOLUTIONS OF A GENERAL NATURE

General Declaration

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was held in Havana, capital of the Republic of Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966. A highly significant task has been carried out. For the first time in history, a very broad representation of the revolutionary forces in 82 countries of the three continents has exchanged experiences and initiatives, strengthened the ties of revolutionary and anti-imperialist solidarity, and adopted basic agreements in the fight against the system of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, against which they have declared a war to death. The deliberations of the Conference have evidenced the fact that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, led by Yankee imperialism, are following a policy of systematic intervention and military aggression against the countries of the three continents.

The Conference was held at a time in which the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as in other parts of the world, wage a violent struggle against all forms of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination led by Yankee imperialism. World situation favours the development of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples. The increasing wave of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is an outstanding event of enormous significance.

Imperialism will never renounce voluntarily its policy of exploitation, oppression, plunder, aggression and intervention. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America know by their own experience that the main bulwark of colonial oppression and international reaction is Yankee imperialism, implacable enemy of all the peoples of the world. To destroy the domination of Yankee imperialism is an imperative issue for the complete and definitive victory in the anti-imperialist struggle in the three continents and all efforts of the peoples should converge towards that aim.

The true nature of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has been dramatically revealed in the debates of the Conference. On comparing the benefits, profits and riches drawn out by imperialist monopolies from the miserable living conditions of the peoples of the three continents, the acute character of one of the major contradictions of our days is observed: the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples. Yankee imperialism is the main pillar of oppression; it leads, provides and supports the world system of exploitation.

The monopolies from imperialist powers draw out for their benefit enormous riches from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This spoliation has been secularly carried out under different forms. They seize the natural resources of the soil, subsoil and maritime platform, control through investments the most important

1. English versions published by the Tricontinental Conference, in Havana, unless otherwise noted.

sectors of industry and services, as well as foreign trade, and impose their harmful conditions on the relations of international exchange, fully controlling banks and national finances.

This situation as a whole determines that the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist powers exercise economic domination over the subject countries and carry out systematic plunder which our peoples suffer, being compelled to pay tributes to fill the coffers of the monopolies.

The rate of annual per capita income of exploited nations of the three continents is incredibly lower than that of the exploiting powers. The astronomical figures which reveal the profits obtained by the monopolies are in sharp contrast with the extremely high index of infant mortality, the percentage of illiteracy, the almost total lack of schools, of medical and hospital assistance services, and in short, the conditions of hardship, unemployment, hunger and poverty in which our peoples live.

This injustice is more starkly revealed considering the tremendous contrast between the promising future that the present development of science, technology and culture offers to mankind, and the shocking fact that the exploited masses of Asia, Africa and Latin-America are deprived of every possibility of access to the enormous material and intellectual wealth that knowledge and human work have accumulated for centuries. Our peoples cannot profit from the achievements of science and technology because the system of exploitation allows them no opportunity, and, consequently, they find themselves in a disadvantageous position which increasingly widens the gap between victims and henchmen as far as standards of living are concerned. The impossibility for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to reach this higher level of material and intellectual living under the present social and economic structures to which they are subjected today, is quite evident. The desperate conditions of poverty, hunger and ignorance in which the exploited masses of the three continents live are also obvious. These are reasons enough to definitively condemn the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation.

In its eagerness to prop up this system led by Yankee imperialism, in order to face the powerful drive of the peoples, it fosters and maintains international tensions, threatening peace and security; encircles the globe with aggressive military bases; concludes military pacts in open violation of the principles of national sovereignty; proclaims, with incredible cynicism, the alleged right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to occupy by force all or part of their territories, arrogating the shameful role of international gendarme; finances and supplies arms to decadent colonial nations so that they may keep their preys and share profits with them; insolently and arrogantly insists on imposing its ideology, using for this end a world-wide propaganda network; tries to influence all peoples with the decadent expressions of its culture; distorts history, twists facts, and uses slander as a fighting weapon; imposes economic blockade in the vain attempts to wield the people through a siege of hunger and being impotent to do so, insists in extending that turbid and criminal conduct to the commercial policy of its allies; schemes the promotion and support, on a world scale, of anti-popular and anti-national regimes which sustain the system of exploitation; covers the map with its capital, annually drawing out millions of dollars for its monopolies; it commits all sorts of abominable crimes against the peoples, and busily prepared the attack against the socialist countries and against world peace.

By the very nature of its system of exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism strongly resist independence; sovereignty, and national and social liberation of the peoples. Opposing them, the oppressed peoples of the world fight for the principles of self-determination, sovereignty and independence of the nations. The movement of liberation of the peoples of the three continents has developed into one of the most important forces of the world struggle against imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism, and together with the peoples of the socialist countries and international proletariat, plays a decisive role in the history of mankind. The imperialists isolate themselves and become weaker. The crisis in their system is more acute every day.

The interests of national liberation are closely bound to the needs of the social revolution. The movement for national liberation, the demands of the peasants for land, the struggle of the working class for its great social and political gains, the determined action of the youth and students, the demands of intellectual workers and other sectors of the population for their trampled and scorned rights, the fight against oligarchies and military dictatorships at the service of the ruling classes, the battles against racial discrimination and other social inequalities are a powerful current and form part of a movement destined to play a transcendent role in the progress of mankind.

The peoples that have succeeded in abolishing the exploitation of man by man by the establishment of socialism, give with their example and aid a valuable impulse to the struggle of the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

To the extent in which the movement of liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America advances, the working class and the progressive sectors of capitalist nations will be able to help this movement in a more direct and effective manner. The increasing movement of civic protest of the North American people because of the war waged by the government of the United States against the Vietnamese people, is an unequivocal evidence.

The effective revolutionary actions of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam and the heroic resistance of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are contributing to raise the fighting spirit and the political awareness of the peoples of the United States; that with ever-growing vigour, express their opposition to war. This is evidence that the liberation of Asia, Africa and Latin America will hasten the struggle of the working class and other oppressed sectors of the population in the United States and the developed capitalist countries in Europe against the rule of monopolist capital, and against exploitation and for social progress. In its turn, the development of this proletarian class struggle and that of all workers in capitalist countries, will contribute to the advance of the struggle for national liberation of Asia, Africa and Latin America and, thus, the common efforts will defeat the common enemy of all peoples: imperialism and, particularly, Yankee imperialism, the most ferocious and oppressing of them all.

A group of countries in the three continents have achieved political independence; many others are fighting to attain it. Those who have attained their independence and those who are struggling for it, close today their ranks in the Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and study the means to face their international duties with regard to the common cause of all peoples: the liquidation of the colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

There are still territories which suffer under the most backward-forms of the colonial system. The representatives of those peoples are present in this conference. In order to face the serious problems involved in economic and social development and the complete liberation of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is imperative to uphold the principles of self-determination of states, national sovereignty and political independence.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the inalienable right of all peoples to full political independence and to resort to all forms of struggle that may be necessary, including armed struggle, to conquer that right. There is no more important task for the subjugated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have achieved their political independence are becoming aware that the juridical status of a formal sovereignty does not suffice to insure full liberation. In order to achieve total liberation it is necessary to eliminate all means of imperialist exploitation, to carry out deep changes in the social and economic structures and to set the material and technological foundation on which a society of free men can be built. Political emancipation must be followed by economic liberation. Only thus can social equality of all men and true independence of all states be insured.

The peoples of the independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America must oppose every type of infiltration, subversion, oppression, exploitation and plunder by imperialism and develop to the utmost their initiatives and resources. Strengthen reciprocal aid and cooperation with friendly countries, destroy imperialist and colonialist forces, oppose neo-colonialist aggression and infiltration, and build and advance their national economy and culture.

The Conference PROCLAIMS, as common principles of the struggle of the peoples that in Asia, Africa and Latin America are determined to eradicate every remnant of imperialist economic domination and to build their own economies, and as a program for those who are still striving to attain their liberation, the right to national control of the basic resources, to the nationalisation of the banks and vital enterprises, to the state control of foreign trade and exchange, to the increase of the public sector, to the re-consideration and rejection of the spurious and anti-national debts which were imposed upon their economy, to the achievement of a true agrarian reform, which would eliminate the feudal and semi-feudal ownership. advance the agricultural development, raise the standard of living of the farmers and other agricultural workers and contribute to the increment of national economy and export.

The implementation of these principles will permit the full development of their natural resources and its industrialisation according to the prevailing conditions in each country, thus achieving their economic emancipation.

The imperialists make every effort to strangle the countries who have conquered their independence by imposing obstacles on their trade, using the monopolist control of transportation, resorting to criminal blockade, ruining their economies through the forced-lowering of prices of primary products and the constant fluctuation of those prices.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of all liberated peoples to trade with all other countries of the world on an equal basis, the need to put an end to the constant fluctuation of prices of the basic products and to fix these prices on a fair basis so that they be rationally related to those of the industrial products; and the urgency of breaking the imperialist blockade of trade and transportation of the liberated countries through the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents, with the cooperation of the progressive forces of the rest of the world.

The imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist rule leaves a dramatic balance of technological backwardness to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which prevents the city and country workers whose effort is the foundation of national development from increasing their productivity through the application of more advanced techniques in agriculture and in industry.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to have access to technique and the need of the liberated countries for the massive formation of technical cadres selected from amongst the people, which implies an educational revolution starting from the eradication of illiteracy, and leading to technical revolution.

The countries which free themselves of imperialism inherit the most terrifying lack of public health services; no hospitals nor auxiliary centres of medical services, and no professionals to increase them.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples of the three continents to enjoy a healthy life and to adequate medical assistance and preventive medical services, and the need of the liberated countries to receive all possible aid from the more developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to establish a system of medical and hospital services, with special emphasis on the training of medical and auxiliary cadres that must carry out this massive task under the planned direction of the State and with the broadest popular participation.

Racial discrimination is practiced by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in important areas of the world, and reveals itself in its most repulsive, brutal and diabolic form in the policy of apartheid, which oppresses and offends the people of South Africa and threatens the people of Zimbabwe, subjecting them to a permanent state of servitude. It is an instrument of exploitation and is one of the most unfair and barbaric forms of inequality.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the full equality of all men and the duty of the peoples to fight against all expressions of racism and discrimination, and therefore, its full support to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the racist government of Ian Smith and to the international movement of solidarity against the South African regime, and calls on all countries represented at the Conference to impose a political and commercial blockade on South Africa, as well as a boycott on the shipment of arms and petroleum.

Military pacts, the existence of military bases and the presence of imperialist or mercenary troops in foreign territories are a violation of national sovereignty and a danger to peaceful relations among States. "Imperialism maintains this situation to strangle national liberation movements, intimidating their neighbour countries and committing aggressions against the newly-liberated countries".

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to free themselves of foreign military bases and makes an appeal to step up the fight for the achievement of this aim and against military pacts and the presence of imperialist or mercenary troops.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America struggle to defeat the local reactionary classes, which, servile to foreign interests, help to maintain the system of neo-colonial exploitation. In this struggle the reactionary classes offer a fierce resistance and it will not be an easy task to take away from them the power with which they exploit and oppress the peoples. The revolutionary and patriotic struggle of each people is a contribution to the liberation of the other countries.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to their political, economic and social liberation by the means they deem necessary, including armed struggle, so as to achieve this goal.

Imperialism and the reactionary classes in every country face the liberation movement of the peoples by using all the military, political and pseudo-judicial resources within their reach. They ignore their international commitments. They try to mask their crimes inventing all kinds of falacious arguments to violate the principle of self-determination and national sovereignty and the right of the peoples to bring about revolutionary changes in their economic and social structures. They do not hesitate to resort to all kinds of crimes and abuses; subversion, infiltration of spies, saboteurs and criminal agents; direct aggression to thwart the legitimate aspirations of our peoples; they resort to violence and the use of their armed forces to carry out their objectives.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to meet imperialist violence with revolutionary violence, to safeguard in those circumstances, the national sovereignty and independence.

The struggle that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America wage to this effect, is a decisive contribution to the anti-imperialist fight in the three continents, as well as an effective one

for the liberation of their own peoples and the ensurance of world peace. Each popular victory inspires new victories.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right and the duty of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the progressive states and governments of the world, to give material and moral support to -- peoples fighting for their liberation or suffering direct or indirect aggression from the imperialist powers.

North American armed forces now occupy the territory of the Dominican Republic. Imperialism, against the will of the Dominican people, intervned in the popular revolution to uphold its puppets, violated national sovereignty, trampled on the principle of non-intervention and murdered not only those involved in the fighting, but also their women and children.

The Conference PROCLAIMS, therefore, the right of the Dominican people to fight the North American occupation forces by all the means within their reach, mainly through popular revolutionary war, and -- the right to request the support of all the peoples and governments of the world.

The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against the imperialist aggressors, not only conforms with the righteous defense of the independence of that country, but also safeguards the right to --- self-determination and sovereignty of all the peoples of the world.

The Conference strongly CONDEMNES the war of aggression of Yankee -- imperialists in South Viet-Nam, and their bombings to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and condemns them as war criminals for -- their barbaric actions against the Vietnamese people. The Conference DENOUNCES the deceiving peace statements of Johnson's government -- and totally SUPPORTS the points set forth by the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and by the National Liberation --- Front of South Viet Nam for the solution of the Vietnamese problem. The Conference PROCLAIMS that the National Liberation Front of --- South Viet Nam is the only and true representative of the people of South Viet Nam and EXPRESS its firm conviction that under its leadership, the Vietnamese people will undoubtedly achieve its final -- victory.

The Conference PROCLAIMS its solidarity with the armed struggle of the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, Congo, (Leopoldville) and with the decision of the peoples of the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tomé --- and Principe, to put an end to colonial domination. SUPPORTS the -- peoples of French Somaliland, of the Spanish possessions of Africa and the people of Zimbabwe, Basutoland, Bachuanaland and Swaziland

in their right to self-determination and independence; the colonial peoples of Latin America, Puerto Rico, The Guianas, Martinique, Guadeloupe and others in their struggle for national independence and self-determination; the right of the people of Cyprus to an unrestricted independence and complete self-determination supports the peoples of Malaya ( including Singapore ) and North Kalimantan in their struggle for national liberation and for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops; and also the demand for immediate independence for South Yemen (occupied) and the dismantling of the British military base in Aden and the North American bases established in Saudi Arabian territory. CALLS UPON the solidarity of all peoples with the Arab people of Palestine in their just struggle for the liberation of their homeland from imperialism and Zionist aggression. CONDEMNES the policy of aggression of the government of the United States against peaceful and neutral Cambodia, and advocates the rejection of any political, economic, diplomatic and cultural cooperation with Yankee imperialists and with all the puppet governments that help the North American government in its policy of aggression against the Indo-Chinese peoples. SUPPORTS the heroic struggle of the people of Laos against North American imperialist and their puppets. DENOUNCES the aggressive manoeuvre of Yankee imperialists, that in alliance with the Japanese militarists and in connivance with their puppets of South Korea, intend to establish the North East Asia Military Alliance as a stern troop against the Korean people and the peoples of Asia, in order to provoke a grave situation in that part of the world. And also SUPPORTS the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of their homeland and the expulsion of Yankee troops from South Korea, and expresses its solidarity with the fight of the Korean and Japanese peoples for the abrogation of the South Korean-Japanese Treaty. And CONDEMNES as an act of aggression against the Cuban people, the blockade of Cuba by North American imperialists, who have prohibited the sale of foodstuffs and medicines, and calls upon the peoples of the three continents to increase their trade with this aggrieved fraternal country, so as to definitively break the blockade that the imperialists have tried to impose.

In the face of the attacks of the reactionary forces directed by Yankee imperialists, the Conference CALLS FOR the militant, active and dynamic solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and exhorts them to intensify under the anti-imperialist

panners the national liberation movement, to develop it even more and unite all progressive mankind in that struggle.

Imperialism tries to dull the national consciousness of the peoples through the penetration of its decadent culture, employing means of mass communication for these purposes, destroying the scientific, technical and cultural heritage of the countries it exploits.

The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of all peoples to maintain and develop their cultural heritage, nourishing it with the contributions which arises from the exchange of genuine cultures of other peoples and the need that the peoples of the three continents wage an active fight to expel from their cultural life the expressions of imperialist influence, thus enriching the lives of their peoples with their true art and culture.

The Conference extends a warm greeting to the working class and progressive movements of the capitalist countries in Western Europe and the United States, and invites them to strengthen even more the fraternal ties of solidarity with the peoples of the three continents to jointly fight against the imperialist monopolies, and the policy of intervention and aggression, since they also are victims of the exploitation and oppression system.

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the organisation that has emerged from it - proclaim themselves genuine representatives of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist, patriotic and nationalist will and fighting spirit of the peoples of the three continents.

The Conference PROCLAIMS that the main task of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is to intensify the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism so as to conquer and consolidate national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

The peoples of the three continents, determined to sweep all obstacles in their way and to struggle unyieldingly for a new Asia, and new Africa and a new Latin America, definitely emancipated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will be united in a tight sheaf until final and total victory is achieved. They have full confidence in their future.

The coordination of the efforts of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America accomplished at this Conference, and the future tasks and fundamental perspectives that have been established, will turn the active solidarity of our continents into a historic instrument of tremendous drive that will destroy the strongholds of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the foundations of which have already been shaken by the victorious liberation movements in recent years, and by the inexorable course of history.

THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID: "ENOUGH" AND HAS STARTED TO MOVE FORWARD, AND ITS GIGANTIC MARCH WILL NEVER STOP UNTIL IT CONQUERS FINAL LIBERATION.

## General Political Resolution

THE First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia -- and Latin America, assembled in the capital of Cuba, marks the ----- first occasion on which the representatives of the peoples of the -- three continents gather in an International Conference to acquaint themselves with common problems and goals, and exchange experiences that will make possible the necessary solidarity in order to put an end to colonialism and neo-colonialism and to assert the right to -- self-determination of the peoples.

This Tri-Continental solidarity is necessary to face the increasingly aggressive policy of imperialism, especially North American imperial- ism. This confers great relevance to this Conference, the convening of which has been made possible by the successes achieved by the ----- struggle for national liberation in the three continents.

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia -- and Latin America meets precisely at a time when the imperialists -- can no longer contain the emancipating wave of the peoples.

As a result of their struggle for liberation, a vast and powerful -- group of countries has emerged that oppose imperialist exploitation and its aggressive policy, and endeavor to consolidate their inde----- pendency and defend their sovereignty.

The successful battles waged by the peoples against imperialist do- mination are gradually weakening its foundations; in South Viet Nam imperialist troops are daily being defeated; in Algeria a powerful colonial army, backed by NATO was unable to resist the vigorous ---- thrust of the Algerian people; the imperialists have made unsuc----- cessful efforts to crush the revolution in Africa. The Cuba Revolu- tion is stronger every day and advances in the construction of So-- cialism, defeating the aggressive policy of the United States.

The Cairo Afro-Asian Conference, held in 1958, was the natural re- sult of the historic 1955 Bandung Conference and the principles it upheld. The Bandung principles have acquired a popular and broadly revolutionary meaning in this Cairo Conference, when the peoples of the continents gathered for the first time under the flag of soli- darity in their common fight against imperialism and colonialism.

Before the Cairo Conference of 1958, the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples had already acquired a concrete and positive form, which -- has effectively contributed to defeat the tripartite aggression of Israel, Great Britain and France to Egypt in 1956. During the eight years following the first meeting of the popular forces of Asia -- and Africa, the militant struggle and the close cooperation and -- solidarity have favored the achievement of many victories against imperialism and colonialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the creation of the World Socialist System, the tre--- mendous victories of the peoples against colonial domination in --

Africa and Asia, and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in the American continent, have created new and more favorable conditions than ever for the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The strengthening of the world socialist system and the overwhelming development of National Liberation Movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America hastened the desintegration of the colonial system. This has been the great triumph of the peoples in their struggle for national liberation. A new stage of the fight has arrived when the countries who have attained political independence are faced with new tasks, which are the obtaining of economic autonomy on the basis of the development of national resources, raising the standard of living, and multilateral development of culture and education. The completion of these tasks is inseparably joined to the fight against imperialism, which hinders social and economic progress.

If the peoples of the three continents fight unswervingly against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by North American imperialism, they will be able to defeat any enemy, no matter how powerful.

The Conference has stressed the fact that imperialists have stepped up its aggressive activities, unleashing wars against the peoples and desperately trying to save themselves. For imperialism, because of its very nature, opposes the national emancipation of the peoples; its system has been and is based on plundering and the unlimited exploitation of the riches of the countries they have subjected.

The statements of the delegates at the Conference have confirmed that North American imperialism leads the aggressive policy of the imperialists. The most desperate actions against the peoples, as in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic are carried out by Yankee imperialists. North American military bases surround the world. The aggressive pacts in which the United States is the leading power, cover all continents and oceans. The United States is behind each aggressive action carried out by the other imperialists, such as that against the Congo by the Belgium imperialists, against the Zimbabwe people by the racist minority led by Ian Smith with the obvious complicity of the British, French and Portuguese imperialists and the Nazi Government of South Africa, by the fascist Government of Portugal against the patriots who struggle in Angola and Mozambique and in the so-called Portuguese Guinea. And it also intervenes in China's territory of Taiwan, maintaining the corrupt Chiang Kai-Chek clique. In South Korea preventing the unification of the country, and in Latin America, attacking Cuba and promoting reactionary military coups, as in Brazil and other countries.

On the other hand, we know that the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the principal bases of the colonialist policy of the Portuguese Government and of the war being carried on against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. The criminal complicity of the Federal Republic of Germany is particularly through financial aid, the providing of arms to the Portuguese Government as well as through the treatment given to Portuguese soldiers wounded in Africa. The trend of international events in recent years shows that Yankee imperialism is the main stronghold of reaction, that imperialism is the international gendarme and the first enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as that of all peoples of the world.

Having built up West Germany as an imperialist bastion, with many former nazy war criminals in high positions, West German imperialism is not only a big threat to world peace but is most active in supporting Yankee imperialism and the gendarme of world reaction.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, West German imperialism is sending money, armaments and mercenaries to suppress the National Liberation movements as for example in Viet Nam, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Israel, Venezuela, and other countries.

This Conference denounces and condemns West German imperialism as the most important ally of Yankee imperialism.

The rebellion of the peoples who suffer the oppression of imperialism grows with each passing day. Their struggle weakens imperialism, -- tearing from it every position it has snatched.

But the defeat of imperialism will not be brought about spontaneously. The experience of history confirms this.

Each victory achieved towards ending oppression and exploitation has required the revolutionary struggle of the people.

When an imperialist power has withdrawn pretending to be magnanimous in the concession of political independence to colonies which they -- held by force of arms, it has always been because that open and -- harsh possession had become incompatible with the level of the struggle and the maturity of the national consciousness of the oppressed people. And in most cases the withdrawal has been most formal than -- real, inasmuch as they have preserved their hold on the main sources of wealth in the former colony, the monopoly control of its foreign trade and financial resources, with which they hope to substitute the old colonial dependence by neo-colonialism. This demands from the -- newly-liberated countries the continuation of the struggle against -- imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to achieve full political independence, self-reliance in economy and national identity in culture, to fulfill their political independence by achieving economic independence without which the former is to a great extent fictitious. This is well known by the peoples of Africa and Asia who, on breaking their colonial chains, have had to face the vital task of -- recovering their sources of wealth as an indispensable basis for the development of their economies and the consolidation of their independence.

There are today in the three continents objective conditions for the development of the revolutionary struggle for full national liberation. The dramatic gap between the wealthy imperialist nations and -- the poverty-stricken nations of the three continents, subjected to colonial and neo-colonial rapacious exploitation, had never before been made more evident. Nor have the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America been more conscious of the fact that the fundamental -- cause for that growing gap, is the plunder and systematic exploitation to which they have been subjected by imperialist monopolies, with the complicity of native traitors and oligarchies.

Not all peoples have reached the same stage of their struggle for -- full liberation, but to a greater or lesser extent, there are objective conditions for the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in the three continents, as evidenced by its growing power. Such -- conditions emerge from the very existence led by the masses of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans, from the dramatic contrast between -- their standard of living and the wealth of the exploiting classes, and the fighting spirit grows with the example of peoples such as that of Viet Nam, who with unsurpassed heroism, is defeating the -- soldiers of the most powerful imperialist power, and the army of -- its puppet.

The existence of these objective condition determine the maturity of the liberation process. This Conference is convinced that, in -- the face of the imperialist violence, the peoples of the three continents must strike back with revolutionary violence, both to safeguard national independence once it has been won, and to achieve the liberation of peoples who are struggling to throw off the yoke of imperialist exploitation. History proves that when the imperialists and their allies seek, through repression, the changes demanded by the exploited peoples, they must resort to the most energetic forms of struggle, of which armed struggle is one of the most energetic forms.

In order to reach victory it is necessary to open the appropriate channels for the heroism of the people. Revolutionary anti-imperialist vanguards have upon their shoulders the historical responsibility of leading the revolution when the people are already on the march. Not only prestige, but the very reason for the existence of these vanguards is committed in this implacable struggle against the forces which want to stop the progress of mankind.

The Conference clearly establishes that in the face of imperialist limited warfare tactics, whose conditions are already mature, the effective answer is the promotion of liberation wars, in every region where the conditions are ripe of which the supreme example is Viet-Nam, where the United States, upon increasing their intervention, creates the conditions for a later and more overwhelming defeat. But the struggle should not be limited to Viet-Nam. Imperialism should be struck wherever it intervenes, and also those who may imitate its aggressions against the peoples. The battle against oppressive imperialism must be total. Imperialists continue to ignore the right of all peoples to self-determination. With incredible cynicism, imperialists pretend that the increasing struggle of the peoples for their national liberation is the result of external factors. They have used this argument in an attempt to justify their criminal intervention in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic, Congo, Cyprus and in other places. The U.S. House of Representatives recently proclaimed the alleged right of the United States to intervene with armed forces in any Latin American country in order to crush the people's rebellion.

The Conference solemnly proclaims that all progressive countries as well as all revolutionary movements, will extend a consistent and unconditional aid to all peoples engaged in a struggle for national liberation or subjected to an imperialist aggression in any part of the world.

With this obscure policy and its conspiracies, imperialism, headed by the United States, has created a climate of violence, that affects world peace and security. Thousands of military bases have been established in all cases against the peoples's will, and are used to suppress the struggle for liberation and self-determination of the countries in the regions in which they are located. We denounce the inter-American forces of intervention and also the mobile units of intervention stationed in France, as well as the military bases that this power, and other imperialist states, maintain in certain African States. Peoples are fighting against these bases, among them the peoples of Thailand, Aden, Puerto Rico, and French Guiana. The active mobilisations carried out in Japan should be especially noted. The Organization for African Unity (OAU) reaffirms in its resolutions the liquidation of all NATO military bases. Pressures and threats, political and economical aggression of every sort, pirate attacks and blockades, and even armed aggression, are part of the aggressive arsenal, gradually used by imperialists in a distinct manner, according to the thesis of escalation.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, struggling for their national liberation and defending their sovereignty are making a historic contribution to the strengthening of world peace, threatened by the warmongering policy of imperialism.

The vandalic actions carried out against the people of Viet-Nam are the most outstanding manifestation of the aggressive world strategy of Yankee imperialism.

The invading Yankee forces in Viet-Nam and their puppet troops have computed with --if not surpassed-- the barbaric actions of Hitler's hordes. Mutilations, savage tortures, mass assassinations, destructions of defenseless villages and crops by fire and napalm use of

poisonous chemical products against men and forests, continuous bombings by all sorts of airplanes, all imaginable atrocities have been tried out by North American aggressors, and the victims have been men and women, old people and children.

The Conference condemns that the United Nations is being frequently used by Yankee imperialism as an instrument of its aggressive policies against the movements for national liberation as well as the aggression against other countries as Congo, Korea and the Dominican Republic. At the same time, it denounces the UNO, which manipulated by the United States, has deprived the People's Republic of China of its legitimate seat in the midst of that organisation.

Opposing that challenge of moral principles, universally accepted; in the face of that brutal violation of International Law, the heroic reply of the Vietnamese is making the aggressors pay dear for their barbaric actions. It is necessary to multiply the solidarity of the people of the whole world with the Vietnamese people to support its heroic struggle in all ways --including armed volunteers, if necessary.

In their eagerness to avoid the defeat that awaits them, the imperialists have been spreading their war in South-East Asia.

U.S. imperialism uses Thailand as its military base to bomb the regions of Laos liberated by the patriotic forces, and the threats, pressures, plots and aggressions against the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, are evidence of this policy of expansion of their colonial war.

In recent weeks, North American imperialists have been hypocritically talking about unconditional peace negotiations, and they have talked too much about the fourteen points. This is a smoke screen to disguise their new plans for aggression and extension of the war in Viet-Nam.

While this shameless manoeuvre takes place, imperialists continue their criminal aggressions against the Vietnamese people. The Conference supports the four points set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, and appeals to all peoples to fight for their implementation as the only acceptable solution to the situation in Viet-Nam.

The defense of the rightful cause of the Vietnamese people has become a fundamental task for the revolutionary strategy of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, but at the same time, that defense today is totally identified with the interests of all men and women, defenders of national sovereignty, democracy and peace, and is in accordance with the ideals of mankind.

The Far East has been a favourite place for imperialist depredations. Their aggressive manoeuvres against the People's Republic of China, the use of Japan as a gigantic aggressive and nuclear base, the occupation by force of South Korea by Yankee imperialism and the constant hostility against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, are evidence of imperialist action. Above all, Yankee imperialism has been lately, trying to manoeuvre the "aggressive military alliance of North East Asia" (North-East Asia Treaty Organisation-NEATO), joining the puppet clique of South Korea and the militarist forces of Japan through the "South Korea-Japanese Treaty" and illegally manipulating this Treaty in order to use Japanese militarist forces as "storm troops" in their aggressions to Asia, and in this manner create a serious situation in Korea and Asia in general.

On the other hand, British imperialists have created the neo-colonialist product of the so-called "Malayasia" and the phoney "independence" of Singapore, through which they hope to perpetuate colonial domination in South-East Asia. The huge military bases in Malaya (including Singapore) are part of the aggressive North East Asia Treaty Organisation (NEATO).

At the same time oppression continues with increasing intensity-- against the people of North Kalimantan who have been in revolt since December 8, 1962, demanding complete independence.

The Conference strongly supports the struggle of the people of Korea for the sovereign unification of their country and the expulsion of Yankee troops from South Korea, and declares its complete solidarity with the struggle of the people of Korea and Japan in rejection of the "South Korea - Japanese Treaty", and against the manoeuvre to set up the "Military Alliance of North-East Asia". The Conference also supports the struggle of the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Thailand for the preservation of their independence and sovereignty.

The Conference also supports the democratic and progressive forces of Indonesia in their struggle to consolidate their achieved independence against the Indonesian rightists who with the reactionary elements within the Army as their backbone cooperate with and are instigated by the U.S. imperialists, through the CIA.

At the present time, the case of Southern Rhodesia provokes the outrage of Africa and of all progressive people throughout the world. Therefore, the Conference calls upon the progressive countries and organisations of Africa, Asia and Latin America to render immediate, unlimited material and effective aid to the people of Zimbabwe struggling for the liberation of their country.

In the overall fights against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in Africa, the contradictions of imperialism in general have sharpened in South Africa, and it, seems like a joint political, economic and military strategy of the imperialist exploiters and oppressors to impose their racist tyrannies on the overwhelming African majority, constituted by indigenous people. The existence of a joint colonialism in South Africa facilitates the joint repression of the fighting masses by British and North American imperialism supported by their NATO allies, especially Portugal and West Germany. South Africa was turned into an imperialist force, into a stronghold of colonial and fascist repression, with threatens the security and independence of the African states and of world peace. In this joint colonialist strategy, the fascist Republic of South Africa occupies a foremost role, due to its military and economical power and its fascist ideology of racial hatred and supremacy of the white man. A combined action of all progressive peoples and countries is called for especially of all African peoples, to halt the continuation in power of this odious regime. We condemn the fascist government of the Republic of South Africa and call for the solidarity of all progressive and revolutionary governments in moral and material support of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and South-West Africa who are victims of the Verwoerd fascism and racism.

We unconditionally declare our militant support for the heroic patriots who are fighting in so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola,

Mozambique, and for the peoples of the islands of Cape Verde, --  
the islands of Sao Tome, Principe, in the so-called French --  
Somaliland and the Island of Reunion under French rule, and all  
the other struggling people on the African Continent.

We express our most active and concrete support to the armed --  
revolution of the Congolese people, and denounce the armed --  
aggression by the Anglo-American and Belgian coalition. We --  
denounce the logistic support by the United States and its --  
puppets Israel, Belgium and the German Federal Republic - to --  
the defacto rulers in Leopoldville.

In all these cases we denounce the support by the Federal Repu-  
blic of Germany, France and Japan to the colonialist powers and  
the racist governments. We likewise denounce the refusal of --  
the French government to expose these regimes in the interna-  
tional organisations, because the French government in this way,  
maintains the possibility of taking from these Organisations --  
the right to condemn the colonialist policy it still practices  
in the Antilles, French Guiana and Reunion".

The Conference denounces the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation-  
(AMCO), the African version of the Organisation of American --  
States (OAS), raised by French imperialism in complete accord-  
with the U.S. imperialism. The recent turbulent events in the --  
member countries of this Organisation, expose some of their --  
countries and all of the countries of Africa, to clearly evident  
dangers of the instauration of dictatorial regimes similar to --  
those which North American imperialism imposes on Latin America.

Imperialists and colonialists cling to their positions in the --  
Middle East, and it is necessary to aid the peoples of this --  
region in their struggle to eliminate foreign exploitation and --  
consolidate their independence.

To this end, we demand the immediate independence of occupied --  
South Yemen, denounce the Fake Federation, and also the dismantl-  
ing of the British military bases located in Aden and Cyprus and  
North American bases established in the territory of Saudi Arabia,  
which constitutes a serious threat to the peoples in this area.  
We also call for solidarity of all peoples with the Arab popula-  
tion of Palestine in their just cause against colonialism and --  
Zionist racism.

The right of the Palestinian people to recover their land is a --  
just right. We express our firm solidarity with the right of the  
people of Cyprus to attain full and unrestricted independence and  
for them as a whole without interference or pressure from imperia-  
list or any other foreign power, to exercise the right to deter-  
mine their own future.

The development of fighting solidarity with Latin American peoples  
which struggle with arms in hand against the native oligarchies,  
servants of the United States, such as those of Venezuela, Colom-  
bia Peru and Guatemala or who suffer the brutal repression of  
military tyrants as Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, and other countries  
is of particular importance, because Latin America constitutes --  
the rear guard of the most powerful and brutal imperialism, the-  
principal supporter of colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout  
the world.

Each blow given by the struggle of Latin American peoples --- against their Yankee and native oppressors, doubly weakens - North American imperialism. For this reason, the Conference - calls for the development of maximum militant solidarity with Latin American peoples. It especially calls for solidarity - with the Dominican Republic, whose territory was violated and bloodied by Yankee marines, who continue to occupy the country under the befouled and bloody label of the OAS, the Ministry of Colonies of the United States. There is scarcely a day on which a patriot does not fall assassinated in the Dominican Republic. Its people, who have given such a heroic example by - resisting for weeks on end with very few weapons, the thousands of Yankee marines and airborne troops, needs the most energetic support from all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Puerto Rico remains under the colonial domination of North American imperialism, than not only denies its rights to independence, but has also turned it into a huge military base equipped with atomic weapons and from which the Government of the - United States organises interventionist actions in Latin American countries. We express our solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, and demand the abolition of colonialism in that and other American territories, such as the Guianas, Martinique and Guadeloupe. We recognise the transfer of full - powers to the puppet coalition Government of British Guiana, as merely nominal independence, which is meant as a screen for the establishment of an Anglo-American arrianeo-colonialist state.

Special mention should be made of the solidarity with Cuba, whose people defend and carry on their revolution, building socialism - only 90 miles away from the United States. Its selection as site of the First Conference of Solidarity of the People of Africa - Asian and Latin America is the highest acknowledgment of its revolution and of its significance for the peoples of the three - continents. Cuba, a small country, located geographically near the United States and surrounded by puppet governments submissive to Yankee imperialists and therefore hostile to her, --- thousands of miles away from the socialist countries from whom she received solid support, has proved, with the victory of its revolution, despite all the aggressions carried out or encouraged by the United States, that when a people is determined to fight until death for its freedom and independence, with a firm and - unyielding leadership, the revolution is both possible and invincible. That is why it is a source of encouragement and stimulus - for all the peoples of the three continents who fight for their full national liberation. That is also why the imperialists have tried to check the militant support of the Cuban Revolution, by reverting to the most brutal forms of intervention.

But nothing can stop the development of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. Venezuela proves this. The support of North American imperialists to the Venezuelan oligarchy has been unable to choke the struggle for liberation, just as the high budgets - fed by the oil boom, which is a source of fabulous riches for the Yankee monopolies, or the terror unchained against the heroic brother country, have failed.

The guerrilla fight is consolidating itself and growing, and to the war cry "Free our country or die for Venezuela!", their liberation forces are forging future victory with heroic blows.

the Zone of the Panama Canal is being used as a springboard for the invasion of the countries fighting for their liberation, and with the military base at Guantanamo and the bases at Porto Rico forms the Caribbean triangle. This is done against the will of the Panamanian people, which have suffered the aggression of Yankee troops for despoiling the return of the Zone and the Canal, and the respect of their sovereign rights in all of their territory.

Throughout all Latin America the fight for liberation, justly called second war of independence, extends together with the countries already taking part in armed action. Other Latin-American peoples are fighting at various levels and with very different methods. The very powerful working class strikes, the activities in solidarity with Cuba and the Dominican Republic, the public demonstrations for the defence of liberty, self-sacrificing underground struggle against tyrannies, and the revolutionary actions of the masses, announce that in all Latin America the hour of liberation has come.

In the United States, principal bastion of imperialism and reaction, the struggle of the negro people against the hateful discrimination which it is subjected to, is intensifying every day, as also is the opposition of the North-American people to the foul war that the Johnson administration is carrying on against Viet-Nam. The Conference greets these just struggles and calls upon all progressive and democratic forces of the three continents and of the world to give them their warm support.

The Conference further proclaims the necessity for establishing closer relations of cooperation with socialist countries, the working class and other revolutionary and progressive organisations of the peoples of Europe and of North America.

Faced with the criminal alliance of the reactionary forces, the people of the three continents respond with active, dynamic and militant solidarity and with the will to meet every imperialist aggression with revolutionary action, pledging themselves to this fight until they totally liquidate every form of oppression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

### On Colonialism and Neocolonialism

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in the capital of Cuba, verifies that notwithstanding the undeniable struggle of the oppressed peoples for their liberation, there still remain millions who are victims of colonialism and of neo-colonialism. Our time is characterised by great revolutionary progresses. The process of creation of a new world, more perfect, more harmonious and more just is taking place in front of us. We are living in the times of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, in the times of the awakening and of the renaissance of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism, at the breakdown of its colonial system, resorts to new methods in order to maintain, under its control, countries close to independence and to reduce to a mere formal political independence those nations that have already obtained independence by breaking their colonial chains. Thus neo-colonialism has been added to the old colonialist policy, already in agony.

Imperialism is the result of the domination in developed capitalist countries of cartels, trusts and financial corporations, that have as a main and final purpose the obtention of maximum profit, one of its most important sources being the looting and exploitation of colonies and of neo-colonial countries, principally by using the exportation of capital which permits the owner of that capital to lord it over their economies. In the colonies, imperialism adapts traditional societies to the purposes of its exploitation, turning them into simple dependencies of the metropolis: suppliers of cheap raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods of the powers that own them. In the case of the countries that have won their political independence, imperialism does its best to maintain them in similar economic dependence through the possession of their main sources of wealth and by monopolist control of their foreign-trade and of their financial resources that together with the investments of capitals on the part of imperialist monopolies, form the principal support of neo-colonialism. The first victims of this neo-colonialist policy were the Latin-American countries, the majority of which, having achieved their political independence in the last century, were submitted to the economic penetration of the rising British imperialism, in the first place, and, on a smaller scale, the French imperialism, then, later on, in a predominant way, North American imperialism.

In Africa, and Asia, using similar methods, British and French imperialists, when the recognition of national independence became unavoidable for them in numerous countries of those two continents, because of the development of national conscience and the revolutionary struggle of their peoples made great efforts to deprive this independence of its real contents, to reduce it to an independence formal in a great measure, which has forced the peoples of the already independent countries of Africa and Asia to fight to redeem their sources of wealth, consolidating in this way their political independence.

To guarantee its domination, imperialism tries to destroy the national, cultural and spiritual values of each country, and forms an apparatus of domination which include national armed forces docile to their policy, the establishment of military bases, the creation of organs of repression, with technical advisers from imperialist countries, the signing of secret military pacts, the formation of regional and international warmongering alliances; it encourages and carries out "coups d'etat" and political assassinations to assure puppet governments; at the same time that, it resorts, in the economic field, to deceptive formulas, such as the so-called Alliance for Progress, Food for Peace, and others similar, while using international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to reinforce its economic domination.

Imperialism uses the old ruling classes for its domination, the bourgeois compradores certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie which it controls through financial instruments and it even deceives and subdues some sectors of the exploited classes, and resorts to various forms of corruption through venal leaders of the so-called "free" trade-unions and organisations that are tools of imperialism. Other means used by imperialism are the policy, carefully estimated, to divide and rule, using for this the religious, cultural, racial and political ideology of the oppressed masses, as well as the suppression and prohibition of informative-literature from the socialist countries and of the anti-imperialist organisations in other countries, and a calculated policy to control and distort any news about the national liberation struggle, with the purpose of keeping these oppressed peoples in ignorance of these facts.

In its useless efforts to maintain the colonies and perpetuate colonial domination, imperialist countries use the most brutal methods of repression, and armed aggression in its most savage forms, just as Portugal does in its African colonies. North American imperialism, hiding behind the flag of the United Nations after the proclamation of independence in the Congo, brutally intervened and overthrew the legitimate government of Lumumba. Furthermore the United States and Belgium, with the help of the United Kingdom, have carried out an open repression in the Congo, using mercenaries. Imperialism also uses other more subtle forms, just as French colonialism does in the Antilles.

For the countries that have recently attained their independence, their greatest threat is the subtle methods of neo-colonialism, that even under the excuse of giving economic "aid" to those countries, makes sure of new ways of penetration in their economies for the monopolies. It is very important to denounce vigorously the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, not only in its political aspects but in its the economic, military and cultural aspects as well.

A first important characteristic is joint colonialism. Formerly each imperialist power resolved for itself the problems of its colonies, opposing the interference of other powers in what was considered its "sphere of influence". This was the case in Africa and in Asia of the European colonial powers. And, in America, the expression of this policy was the "Monroe Doctrine". The only base for the division of the colonies and of the spheres of influence was the correlation of forces of the imperialist powers.

Today this situation has changed. The rising of the socialist world, the growing encouragement of the national liberation movement, the uncontrollable crumbling of the world of colonial slavery

have determined the impotence of the colonialist powers when acting separately, to suppress the national liberation movements. 1888, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy were able to suppress by the most bestial force and terror the popular struggles of East Africa in order to subdue them, these times have gone, as proved by the cases of Suez and Algeria.

At the time of the nationalization of the Suez Canal, British and French imperialists, with the support of Israel, resorted inclusive to armed aggression, and suffered a defeat.

In Algeria, French imperialists engaged all their military resources, but the National Liberation Movement triumphed. This impotence determined the imperialists to resort to collective colonialism, that is to say, to joint participation against the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples, as in the Congo and prior to that, in Algeria; joint exploitation by North American, British, French, West German and Japanese monopolies of the natural resources of the Asian and African countries; use of military alliances in the struggle against the national liberation movements, such as the NATO, in the case of Algeria and now of the Portuguese colonies, the SEATO in Laos and against Viet-Nam, and the proposed NEATO, by the signing of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty. Yankee imperialists have been able to use the United Nations Organisation to cloak their neo-colonialist plans, as in the well-known cases of the Congo and Korea, and they try to use it for the same ends in other countries.

Never before had imperialists displayed so great a concern to the defence of their common interests of class. The collapse of colonialism threatens to liquidate their sources of strategic raw-materials, their fulcrums for domination in all the continents to deal a mortal blow to their "hinterlands" on which they depend for their existence. Because of this, the traditional colonialist countries are forced to give up their positions to the United States and to the Federal Republic of Germany, at present the strongest imperialist powers. Six years ago, a Belgian newspaper, "La Nation Belge", clearly explained the situation:

"Only 4 colonial powers remain in Continental Europe: Belgium, France, Spain, and Portugal, which all together have a population of eighty million. To imagine that they can offer resistance alone, or even together . . . is an irrealisable dream. Under these circumstances, and with the present development of events, all Europeans run the risk of being expelled from Africa... The action required is evident: the supreme rights of a few and feeble countries should be replaced by the powerful sovereignty of all Europe..." To this could be added: "and of the United States".

Joint colonialism is not an expression of the strength of the colonialist powers, but just opposite, of its increasing weakness. And it does not eliminate the inter-imperialist contradictions, nor the fierce struggle of the monopolies of each imperialist country to displace their rivals from other countries; because these contradictions are inseparable from imperialism.

An outstanding example of joint colonialism is that of the European Common Market in its relations with the African countries, of which French imperialism is the main beneficiary. By mean of the concession of preferences, and even the duty-free entry of goods into African countries associated with the E.C.M. the imperialist countries which form it secure tariff advantages for their manufactured goods exported to those African countries, as well as advantages for the investment of their capitals.

Thus, the old European colonial powers apply in their former colonies in Africa and Asia the same policy which the United States applied in the independent countries of Latin America where, under the disguise of a policy of trade reciprocity, it secured a privileged, and sometimes even a monopolist position in the foreign trade of these countries, achieving at the same time exceptional advantages for its investments with which it has controlled the main sources of riches of most of the Latin American countries. The principal beneficiaries of this typical neo-colonialist policy of the E.C.M. are the French and West German imperialists.

Another important feature of neo-colonialism is the increasing participation of imperialist states, as such, in investments in underdeveloped areas, mainly under the form of the so-called "aid". The imperialist "aid" is, above all, an instrument of oppression of the underdeveloped countries. It is a new form of export of capitals, destined to create the precise conditions for the development of the bellicose plans of the imperialists, particularly those of North America, and also for the exploitation of the natural resources of the above mentioned underdeveloped countries by imperialist monopolies. This so-called "aid" is generally granted in the form of loans, getting the underdeveloped countries into ever-increasing debts to the extent that presently it takes many of them over one fourth of their net income in foreign exchange to pay the amortisations and interests of their debts, as is the case of all underdeveloped countries.

These loans of capitalist countries are always conditioned. For example, the country that receives the loan pledges itself to use that loan for buying goods, at exorbitant prices, from the lending country; in this way the imperialists, not only receive interest on the loan, at a high rate, but obtain large profits from the sale of their goods.

Another outstanding feature of neo-colonialism, is the use of international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, and others, at the service of the expansion policy of imperialism, and, in particular North American imperialism, because the United States controls these institutions. As a matter of fact, the United States alone has 25 per cent of the votes in the IMF, 34 per cent in the IBRD and 41 per cent in the IDB. Having this control, the United States uses these institutions for its imperialist ends, with this double advantage: they have at their disposal, in addition to their own funds, those of the underdeveloped countries who are members of those institutions and they do not appear as directly imposing burdensome political and economic condition on these nations.

An example of this utilization are the loans granted by the World Bank since its foundation in 1946 to 1959 to 11 African countries, for a total of 627,500,000 dollars. How was this impressive total located?

One-third of the loans went to the South Africa Union for the construction and modernising communication so as to facilitate the export to the United States of uranium and other strategic materials; for payment of the electric power installations, turbo-generators and other equipment for the uranium mines and other mines in that country. And it so happens that North American monopolies have special "interest" in South African mines, not to mention that these loans were a means of strengthening the fascist and bestially racist government which has been imposed on the black people, which form an overwhelming majority of the population.

The Congo also received, while it was still a Belgian colony, I.B.R.D. loans to construct the communications and to develop the transportation necessary for facilitating the exploitation of uranium and other mineral deposits, the uranium mines of the Union Minière du Haut Katanga in particular, which undertaking forms part of the international financial group headed by Nelson Rockefeller.

Numerous similar examples can be cited throughout Africa. In contrast, not a single loan has been granted for a project signifying a basic construction for the industrial development of the African countries, such as that of the Aswan Dam, or if granted have been subject to burdensome terms.

As to the International Monetary Fund, the examples of Latin America are well known. The peoples of the Argentine, Bolivia, Peru and others know very well the results of the "plans of stabilisation" imposed by the IMF as a condition for "aid": hunger and poverty for the people, a paradise for the imperialist monopolies.

This colonial and neo-colonial exploitation to which underdeveloped countries are submitted has terrible consequences for the peoples. A dramatic example of these consequences is that the annual rate of per capita income in Asia, Africa and Latin America, excepting the Socialist countries of Asia, is less than 140 dollars a year. On the other hand, that of the imperialist powers fed by the plundering and exploitation of the natural resources, of the underdeveloped countries is much higher, and in the case of the United States, the main imperialist usufructuary, the rate is 2.506 million dollars per year.

The North American imperialists, through their Central Intelligence Agency, are trying to divide the National Liberation Movements with racial, sectarian and religious lines and they use vacillating and opportunist elements inside the national liberation movements in an effort to deviate the revolutionary people, efforts in which they use bribery, blackmail and corruption.

This has been proved, among other cases, in those of Guatemala, Iran and the so-called British Guiana. Recent events in Indonesia, which led to the anti-democratic and anti-progressive disturbances, were also instigated by the CIA.

After having analyzed the different manifestations of neo-colonialism, the Conference points out that this is a new form of colonial domination and exploitation used by the imperialists, especially in North American imperialism, main exploiter and oppressor of the contemporary world.

Colonialism and neo-colonialism are the biggest cancer of contemporary mankind. It is the duty of every country and people to eliminate them from the face of the globe.

With this end in view, the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America resolves:

- 1.-- To appeal for the militant support for the just struggle of the peoples who fight to achieve their liberation from colonial oppression and to salute the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Sao Tomé, Principe, the Spanish colonies, Aden and Oman included in the artificially created Federation of South Arabia, Kalimantan and Malaya, (including Singapore), Puerto Rico and British Guiana, of Guadeloupe and all other colonial countries and territories struggling for their national independence.

to condemn the policy of massive expatriation parcelled by French imperialism in respect, to the population of Guadeloupe, Martinique and of Reunion.

2. The active and dynamic solidarity with the countries suffering the aggression of imperialist and particularly North American imperialism; in the first place, this solidarity must express itself in relation to Viet-Nam the center of the present struggle against North American imperialism, and whose people is heroically facing and inflicting continuous defeats on the Yankee invading troops and their puppets and is bringing down United States planes that devastate their country. This solidarity must be extended to Laos and to Cambodia, victims of constant United States aggressions.

It must also be actively expressed to Cuba, which suffers the economic blockade of the United States and other various forms of aggression and to the Democratic Republic of Korea, and to all countries suffering from the hostility of imperialism, as in the cases of Congo (Brazzaville) Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania in Africa.

We condemn the reactionary governments in their conspiracy against the people as in the case of Nigeria. This is equally valid in some African States such as Senegal, Upper Volta, Cameroon, Niger, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Morocco, Libya and Tunisia, whose governments are instruments of neo-colonialism.

3. To support by all means the national liberation struggles in countries which although formally independent have long suffered the exploitation and oppression of imperialism in many forms, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Armed liberation struggle is turning into a fundamental manner of struggle in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, Oman and Congo (Leopoldville), whose peoples and fighters should be effectively supported.

To support and encourage the peoples of the former British colonies in the Caribbean, such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and the former African colonies, such as Senegal, Rwanda, Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroon, Dahomey and others that are now under neo-colonial domination, in their struggle for real national liberation.

4. To proclaim that, confronted with the armed violence that imperialism, headed by North American imperialism, uses to smother the peoples who are attacked, to employ revolutionary violence. To urge all countries of the three Continents to give all their moral support as well as their material, political and diplomatic aid to the revolutionary movements in armed or political struggle. That is necessary for guaranteeing victory over imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the three Continents, and is also a right and a duty of all the peoples.

5. To reaffirm solemnly the 10 principles approved in Bandung in 1955, to govern relations between States. To condemn, consequently, aggression, intervention, subversion and imperialist control in the States of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and also the use of arms or any other method employed by imperialists.

To denounce the North American occupation of Okinawa and Ogasawara that were robbed from Japan and turned into dangerous North American military bases to launch aggressions against other countries of Asia, and in particular, Viet-Nam.

6. To demand the withdrawal of all foreign interventionist forces now in the territory of Congo (Leopoldville) and the cessation of Yankee and Belgian imperialist aggressions as well as the withdrawal of the mercenaries at their disposal.

7. To condemn the invasion of the Dominican Republic by Yankee marines and the interventionist troops of the Organisation of American States and to demand their immediate withdrawal.

8. To denounce the strengthening of the North American and European imperialist policy, that favour reactionary "coups d'etat" - in Latin America, Africa and Asia to impose governments subdued - to Washington, as in the cases of Brasil, Bolivia, Congo (Leopoldville), Ecuador, Honduras, and Guatemala, or any other imperialist powers as in the case of some countries in Africa, and to proclaim solidarity with the people that are victims of this aggressive policy.

In all these "coups d'etat" that are the expression of neo-colonialist policy of the United States and the European powers in - Latin America, the organisation of American States or the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (political and military bloc at the - -service of North American and European imperialism) have acted - as accomplices. The conference energetically condemns this policy. It particularly condemns the recent reactionary "coup" perpetrated in the Dominican Republic.

9. To demand the most rigorous international sanctions, including measures of force against the colonialist powers which deny independence to the colonial countries and peoples.

10. To call on all peoples to support the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, military bastion of Yankee imperialism in - Latin America, used for aggression against Cuba and the movements of liberation. This solidarity is of particular importance since in the Caribbean area, where imperialist aggression and anti-imperialist struggle are especially accentuated, the existence of a - Yankee colony provided with nuclear weapons, threatens, not only the liberation of Latin America, but also world peace.

11.-To condemn all States allied to Portugal in the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) that continue to give economic and military aid to the Portuguese government, and to demand the immediate suspension of these activities.

12. To call upon all the revolutionary governments and all the -- peoples to give their most active support to the struggle being - carried on in South Africa against the inhuman policy of apartheid practised by the fascist government of Verwoerd, as well as to - lend militant solidarity to the people of Zimbabwe fighting against the terror imposed by the racist government of Ian Smith. This - solidarity is important because the imperialists are trying to set up a colonial group with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, to oppose the independent countries of the National Liberation Movement of Africa.

To call upon all the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents to give their firm support to the campaign of international solidarity, for political and economic sanctions and for the imposition of an embargo on oil and arms against the fascist government supporting white supremacy in South Africa.

Condemns British imperialism for its direct responsibility in creating the conflicting situation in Zimbabwe, subduing the Africans to systematic robbery of their lands, and sharing with the racist minority the product of the exploitation of this people. British and United States imperialists declare they are opposed to the racist government, in an effort to mislead public opinion, as is revealed by the British government's declaration of "replacing" Smith's regime by another, equally racist, which would allow them to continue the exploitation and plundering of Southern Rhodesia. In fact, the British government sold three submarines to South Africa at the beginning of 1965, and it keeps on training South African parachutists in England; the United States maintain treaties with South Africa to furnish it with "ground to air" missiles, in spite of a supposed prohibition.

Appeals to progressive governments and peoples throughout the world to support firmly the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, in their struggle against the treacherous plans of British imperialists and of the fascist regime of South Africa, to establish and maintain puppet governments in those countries. This support is essential, because the imperialists are in the process of establishing neo-colonialist regimes in these countries, thus creating "buffer states" to protect their financial interests in South Africa and in South-West Africa.

13. To develop the most firm solidarity with the black population of the United States struggling against the inhuman practice of racial discrimination imposed by imperialists in the United States.

The Conference also resolves to greet and support the growing struggle that the North American people carry on against the colonial war the United States is waging against Viet Nam.

To reaffirm solemnly the inalienable right of all peoples to achieve complete sovereignty and to carry on an internal and external independent policy. The Conference condemns decidedly any violation of the boundaries by imperialist states, and the criminal practices of economic and military blockades directed against the movement of national liberation. The Conference declares its support for all measures directed against the neo-colonialist policy, and especially declares itself to be:

- in favour of the revision and modification of all bilateral and multilateral agreements imposed by imperialist powers, that conflict, directly or indirectly, with the sovereignty or with the economic interests of the countries that have economic liberty;

- in favour of the eradication of the military bases in the liberated countries, as well as the withdrawal of all troops and foreign military personnel from these countries;

- for the cessation of the undercover activities that the imperialist powers carry on, organising anti-government plots and terrorist activities in the liberated countries.

The Conference calls upon all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces to close ranks in the struggle against imperialism, especially against North American imperialism, chief enemy of the peoples, and to achieve complete victory of the national liberty and independence of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

General Resolution Adopted by the Economic Committee

The Economic Commission of the Tricontinental Conference, met in -- Havana from 3 to 12 January, 1966,

After having studied the draft resolutions submitted by the Cuban Delegation, as well as the documents of the Economic Seminar held in Algiers in February, 1965,

Considering that one of the tasks of the national liberation movements is the elimination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the United States, and the consequences of their domination in the economic sphere,

Considering that in order to obtain such a goal it is necessary to adopt principles of common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the United States, for the achievement and consolidation of economic emancipation for the countries of the three continents,

Considering that the economic relations between the movements which lead liberated zones and revolutionary states must be based on solidarity and fraternal aid,

Considering that one of the worst consequences of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation is that technical progress has not developed in a great number of countries, many of -- them remaining in a patent state of educational backwardness,

Considering that the economic blockades imposed by imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist states against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America constitute a serious threat to the national independence and economic development of these peoples, and a standing menace to the countries of these continents,

Considering that a high percentage of the population of the countries striving for their economic emancipation are still working -- with a low productivity in agriculture and other fields of primary production, on account of their technical backwardness, resulting -- from long years of imperialist domination, the income in most of -- these countries being extremely low,

Considering that in order to obtain adequate economic growth in -- these countries, a greater supply of skilled labor force is required,

Considering that it is necessary to develop a just economic policy between the countries of the three continents and the rest of the world,

Considering that the development of the economic, commercial and financial relations between the countries of the three continents and the developed capitalist countries should be carried out upon bases which ensure their economic growth and national independence,

Considering that exploitation by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has imposed upon the lesser-developed countries an economy of monoproduction of non-manufactured goods,

Considering that in the development of their international rule, the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist countries have made use of loans as tools for the economic penetration and political subordination of the lesser-developed countries,

Considering that this type of foreign indebtedness helps to perpetuate underdevelopment, because, through amortization and numerous interests-- it withdraws resources essential to the developing countries, it being evident that many colonial countries, upon gaining national independence, have found such foreign debts, incurred by colonialist governments or rulers who are puppets of imperialist powers, a heavy burden on their economies,

Considering that the permanent fluctuation in the prices of primary products in international trade, acts to the detriment of developing countries and should be avoided,

Considering that these measures adopted by the imperialist countries bring about the depression of the prices of these products and fluctuation of international trade of primary products, and consequently a constant reduction of the share of lesser-developed countries in international trade, and check the expansion of agricultural output in these countries,

Considering that the destruction of the old feudal and semi-feudal structures which check the development of agriculture is not only a historic need, but also an act of justice towards those who till the land, and a decisive step in favor of national liberation,

Considering that the carrying out of a true agrarian reform brings in its wake the promotion of agricultural development, the expansion of the domestic market, the rise of the standards of living and nutrition of the peoples, and the increase of the export capacity,

Considering: that the imperialists are now demagogically upholding in the lesser-developed countries the banner of agrarian reform, with a view to appease the demand of it by the peoples,

Considering: that a true agrarian reform strikes at and eliminates the big landowners, who are allies of imperialism and the support of the most reactionary oligarchies,

Considering: that the economic development of countries liberated from imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism implies the full development of their natural resources and their industrialization,

Considering: that the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against the domination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is closely related to the struggle of the workers of capitalist countries against the monopolies, and that close cooperation between these forces is of great importance for the total defeat of imperialism,

#### PROCLAIMS:

- 1.- Its adherence to the principle of the elimination of the exploitation of man by man through non-capitalist development and its culmination in socialism, according to the concrete conditions in each country,
- 2.- That the common struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to liquidate imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, headed by the United States, and to obtain and consolidate their economic emancipation, constitutes an absolute necessity,
- 3.- That the economic relationships between revolutionary states and movements which lead liberated zones must be based on active solidarity, fraternal aid and common interest of the peoples of the three continents,
- 4.- That a) national control of the basic natural resources,  
b) nationalization of the banks and enterprises vital to the national economy,  
c) state control of foreign trade and foreign exchange,  
d) the growth of the public sector,  
are vital instruments in the anti-imperialist struggle and important factors in accelerating economic development with the aim of building an independent national economy,
- 5.- That the aim of the lesser-developed countries is to achieve their economic emancipation through the full development of their natural resources and industrialization, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in each country,
- 6.- That the countries liberated from imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism must develop their national economies based on self-reliance, that is: the maximum and rational utilization of their own economic, physical and human resources, complemented with the efficient and rational utilization of the assistance from the socialist camp and the more developed anti-imperialist countries,

7.- That only planning can offer a coherent system to promote and efficiently develop economic relations, to facilitate the mobilization and channelling of the peoples' energies, depending in the first place on their own resources and making rational use of their material and human potential, as well as of foreign cooperation, in particular the aid of the socialist countries, to accelerate development and consolidate economic liberation, the real control of its natural resources by each country in order to overcome the sad consequences of imperialist exploitation and promote economic and technical transformation for the benefit of our popular masses and, finally achieve a considerable economic growth,

8.- The need of putting an end to the permanent fluctuations of the prices of primary products and the fixing in an equitable way of these prices, in a rational relation to the level of prices of industrial products,

9.- Its determination to defeat the economic blockade imposed by imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and to struggle in every way, joining their forces and coordinating a genuine economic action, to protect and consolidate their economic independence and free the masses of the people from all oppression,

#### FAVORS:

Establishing forms of economic cooperation among the liberated countries with revolutionary governments, and between these countries and the socialist countries, which allow the former a maximum development of their natural resources by means of trade based on fair prices and long-term agreements,

#### NOTES THAT:

The imperialist countries have utilized loans as an instrument of economic penetration and political subordination of the lesser-developed countries, and that this type of foreign indebtedness contributes to perpetuate underdevelopment, because, through the amortizations and exorbitant interest rates, it extracts essential resources from the developing countries which, having achieved national independence, find a heritage of foreign debt contracted with the ruling powers by governments on the payroll of imperialism.

The measures adopted by the imperialist countries in flagrant violation of the recommendations and principles agreed upon in international conferences, and which tend to consolidate agricultural protectionism, maintain artificial prices for agricultural products and subsidize directly or indirectly, agricultural production, result in the fall of prices and fluctuation in the international market for primary products, therefore producing a constant diminishing of the share of the lesser-developed countries in international trade. Consequently, the Conference

#### DECLARES:

That the economic, commercial and financial relations between the countries of the three continents and the developed capitalist countries, should be carried out on a basis that will guarantee their development and national independence, based on the principle of self-determination, non-interference and

the establishment of generalized, non-reciprocal, preferential measures in favor of the lesser-developed countries, without exception,

The right of the lesser-developed countries to reconsider and repudiate the spurious and anti-national debts that may have been imposed on their economies through the complicity of colonial or neocolonial governments,

CONDEMNNS:

The so-called "assistance" and "technical aid", "Alliance for Progress", "Food for Peace Program", etc., which the imperialist-countries subordinate to political and military considerations,

DENOUNCES:

- 1.- The activities of international credit and monetary organizations which act as instruments for the control of the economy of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America,
- 2.- The activities in the colonial countries of the foreign monopolies, which deplete their natural resources and collaborate actively with the colonialist oppressive forces to impede the liberation of those territories,
- 3.- The investments of international monopoly capital, which compromise the independence of the countries in which they are made and absorb natural resources and foreign exchange, causing inflation in their economies,
- 4.- Monopoly control by imperialism of international means of transportation, which allows it to obtain high profits to the detriment of the lesser-developed countries.
- 5.- The violation of Human Rights by the racist minority governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against the African peoples of those territories, and of Portugal against the peoples of its African colonies, and by Israel against the Arabs of Palestine, and invites the countries of the three continents to impose economic embargoes against those racist governments, which are instruments of international imperialism,
- 6.- The reduction by the United Nations of the amount of the fund for the assistance of the Arab refugees of Palestine, and supports their demand for the increase of that fund for the assistance of the Arab refugees of Palestine, so that they may live under less inhuman conditions,

DEMANDS:

From all revolutionary forces represented in the Tricontinental Conference, the intensification of their efforts so that the authentic representatives of the countries that are fighting, weapons in hand, may receive economic, financial and material aid of all types, including weapons and ammunition; to liberate their countries and consolidate world peace,

AFFIRMS:

- 1.- That the destruction of the old feudal and semi-feudal structure that hinders the development of agriculture is not only a historic necessity, but an act of justice for the pe---

sants and a decisive step in favor of effective liberation of --  
the countries of the three continents as well,

2.- That the carrying out of a genuine agrarian reform giving --  
the land to those who till it, either in the form of cooperatives --  
or individual property for the small peasant, of state control --  
or self-management, promotes agricultural-livestock development, --  
the expansion of the domestic market, raising the standard of --  
living and increasing exports,

3.- That a genuine agrarian reform is that which strikes at and --  
liquidates feudal and semi-feudal property, the owners of which --  
are the natural allies of imperialism and the support of the --  
most reactionary oligarchies,

#### APPEALS:

To the peoples of the three continents to continue and accelo--  
rate by all possible means the process of agrarian reform and --  
the bulding of an independent national economy in their coun--  
tries, as a means of developing the revolution in the world, --  
and of restoring dignity to Man in Africa, Asia and Latin Ame--  
rica,

#### SALUTES:

The revolutionary workers of the different countries, who have--  
undertaken militant action in support of the peoples of Africa,  
Asia and Latin America, including direct action, boycotting the  
loading and unloading of ships transporting weapons, in protest  
against the repression of liberation movements, and invites --  
them to increase their vigilance and efforts to jointly defeat--  
imperialism and its lackeys.

## General Resolution of the Cultural and Social Committee

### Introduction

One of the gravest consequences of the colonization of Asia, Africa and Latin America has been the systematic destruction of the cultures and historical value systems of each people.

The colonial system did not stop at the dismembering of the social structures, the displacement of entire populations, the imposition of artificial territorial and linguistic boundaries, the wiping out of large numbers of our peoples due to forced labor in mines and plantations, but has attached with equal violence the cultural heritage of our countries.

Before colonization, great civilizations had developed on our three continents. The natural conditions of our tropical and subtropical regions were no obstacle for the blossoming of brilliant cultures.

Pre-Columbian America had known the flourishing civilizations of the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas. This was also true of Black Africa, with its civilizations of Zimbabwe, Benin and the Congo, and the high intellectual level attained by the Mali and Ghana Empires. In North Africa, within the historical framework of Islam, the Arab world, not only gathered the cultural heritage of ancient Egypt, India, China and Greece, but itself made great advances in the arts and sciences of the time. In Asia, the peoples of India, China, Japan, Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Indonesia were able to develop high civilizations. The mercantile brutality of colonialism deprived these cultures of all possibility of upsurge and renaissance. Imperialism, for its part, uses its powerful technical media to introduce into all countries of our three continents a great body of literature based on an ethnocentric view of the world and on hatred and prejudice against non-white peoples.

At best, those cultures which escaped total destruction were consistently persecuted, denigrated and denied. Each people's cultural dynamism rapidly degenerated into a body of fragmented folkloric traditions, of dress and culinary habits and of local arts and crafts which could not replace the historical continuity of the creative originality and achievement of our peoples.

Ferocious exploitation, misery, famine, racial discrimination, inferiority complexes and the loss of personality and self-respect are so many aspects of colonialism which induced a deep inhibition of culture and knowledge. For decades hundreds of peoples were condemned to an endless repetition of the same legends, stories, popular songs and oral literature, so as not to die spiritually frozen.

Only the national liberation struggles can put an end to this state of cultural stagnation, of general alienation, and restore to our cultures in Asia, Africa and Latin America, their rightful place in history, their dynamism, their capacity for reju-

vention and perpetual creation. Only the national liberation --- struggles can restore our sense of adequacy and competence and the will and purpose to forge our own destiny in total freedom. This is why, now, in our three continents, culture is the medium through which our peoples can, within the very framework of their own national liberation process, become aware of their capacity to transform the life of society, write their own history, gather the best of their cultural heritage and to unify those factors which intervene in the historical formation of the nation, on a democratic -- and popular basis.

The national liberation struggle not only sets culture free, wresting it from its century-long stagnation, but gives it new fields -- for expression and creation. This struggle provides culture with -- new elements for its own authenticity, vigor, innerhythm and ---- growth. There exist, then, close and inseparable links between the liberation struggle and the shaping of national culture. The armed struggle itself is a cultural fact which mobilizes, through an heroic process, the psychological resources, the emotional strength, the impatience and the aspirations of each people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and gives them wide access to their lost cultural fecundity.

The liberation struggle, which is at present the highest form of -- self-awareness, unifies those factors which define a nation and -- elevates to universal dimensions the special vocation of each one of our peoples. National culture, in the present stage, can only -- recover its legitimacy through the anticolonialist and anti-imperialist struggle.

In this era, this struggle demands that the revolutionary forces -- of the three continents oppose the policy of the imperialist aggression, directed by the United States, which may be seen equally in the domain of the cultural activity of the peoples of Asia, Africa, as well as in Latin America.

The Social and Cultural Commission took up, in the course of its -- work, different topics of interest to the Revolution in the sphere of culture.

The Commission adopted detailed resolutions, of whose contents we offer the following resume:

1) On imperialist cultural and ideological penetration

Imperialist cultural and ideological penetration is carried -- out in nations still subject to colonial and imperialist domination, as well as in those countries which have achieved state sovereignty. This penetration is a permanent threat to countries ---- which are carrying out social revolutions.

Imperialism tries to paralyze the national consciousness of -- the peoples by introducing its own decadent culture through mass -- communication media such as the cinema, magazines, newspapers and the establishment of so-called "cultural centers". Under the pretext of "cultural exchange and cooperation" United States imperialism tries to bribe many intellectuals through the so-called foundations, for example, the Ford, Kellogg, Rockefeller and Kennedy foundations; just as they try to place universities of Asia, Africa -- and Latin America under the control of United States universities. They also carry out seditious campaigns through the so-called ---- "Peace Corps".

The Commission recommends to this conference that:

It is necessary to wage an immediate and active struggle to stop, and to oust once and for all, from the cultural lives of the peoples, the manifestations for the colonialist, neocolonialist and imperialist influence led by the United States.

2) On the cultural revolution in those countries freed from the imperialist yoke.

The cultural revolution is an inseparable part of the social revolution.

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have been freed from colonial and imperialist domination present a picture of acute education and cultural backwardness. Without a deep cultural revolution it is impossible to overcome underdevelopment and eliminate the colonialist and imperialist legacy.

The Commission recommends to this Conference that:

The fundamental aspects of the cultural revolution be studied using the following points as a basis:

- a) The elimination of illiteracy and the elevation of the general educational level of the population.
- b) The fostering of technical and scientific education on the secondary and higher levels.
- c) The encouraging of literature and the arts.
- d) To stimulate curricular and extra-curricular sports and physical education activities.
- e) To organize the revolutionary political education of the peoples of the new free society and especially of the workers and peasants.

3) On the technical and scientific revolution.

The countries who free themselves from colonialism and imperialism find themselves in a situation of economic deformation and underdevelopment and in an obvious technical and scientific underdevelopment.

Each liberated country must undertake a technical and scientific revolution which is a very important part of the cultural revolution.

The social revolution cannot consolidate itself unless the technical revolution is carried out, and a higher stage of economic development is achieved.

The educational aspect of this revolution i.e. the formation of technical cadres, should be carried out following the policy of the economic planning of the state.

The Commission recommends to this Conference:

The careful study of the principles of the scientific and technical revolution and the greatest exchange of experiences regarding this between countries as well as the mutual exchange of factors of

4) On the cultural and scientific heritage:

The scientific and technological wealth of the countries whose monopolies have filched out three continents' natural resources and have exploited their peoples, has fed on misery, sweat and blood of millions of human beings.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have contributed far more than their share to the scientific and technological achievements of the imperialist countries. They claim their right to the free use of these advances in thought and in science as a necessity for development.

The Commission recommends to the Conference:

The abolition of all copyrights providing profits to monopolistic commercial entities, as well as the copyrights of authors who refuse, for political reasons, to have their work reprinted in developing countries. This recommendation does not mean ignoring the legitimate rights of authors who are willing to offer their scientific contributions to the entire human race.

5) On the formation of national cadres:

The formation of national cadres is a most urgent task. It should be undertaken with priority in the recently liberated countries.

The spheres of this formation takes in cadres of the following types. Scientific and technical for agriculture and industry, high-level scientific researchers, teaching personnel, cultural and political.

The formation of national cadres must be carried out with the best of the revolutionary youth of each country. This formation must be done in the spirit of the nation and in the best internationalist tradition.

The Commission recommends to this Conference that:

In the countries of the three continents great attention should be given to this gigantic task. All revolutionary countries are urged to provide high-level professors and technicians to the developing countries so that the latter may form their own technicians and scientists.

6) On Social Security:

Hundreds of millions of men throughout the world exist in sub-human living conditions because of colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation imposed by imperialism, especially by United States imperialism.

Through revolution the peoples must win the right to a better life.

The Commission recommends to this Conference:

The following basic principles of a program of social security and assistance be adopted:

- a) Protection for all urban and rural workers and their families.

- b) No discrimination in this protection because of race, nationality, sex, age, religion, and ideology.
- c) Organization of the social security system on the basis of the degree of economic, social, cultural and administrative development of each country.

7) On Public Health.

The greatest achievements in public health can only be attained in the countries that make their social revolution.

Malnutrition, tuberculosis, endemic diseases and all such ills, consequences of rapacious imperialist exploitation, persist in many countries.

The Commission recommends to the Conference:

To establish as the basic principles of a serious public health structure:

- a) Public Health must be the responsibility of the State.
- b) Public Health must answer to the interest of the people emphasizing not only the medical care aspect but also that of preventative medicine.
- c) Public Health must be planned and directed by a single organism.
- d) Public Health should focus its greatest attention on the problems that affect the great masses such as, vaccination, general sanitary attention, the prevention of epidemics, hospital attention, etc.
- e) Public Health should rest on the massive participation of the people in the health tasks.

8) On Physical Education, Sports and Recreation.

Physical education, sports and recreation play an important part in the integral formation of man; in preventive medicine; in bettering the productive forces of the country; in the struggle for national liberation and national defence; in the better understanding among peoples.

To attain these goals it is necessary to make use of the resources of the people who make the revolution; to have a sole and centralized orientation; to eliminate commercialism in sports; to form technical cadres in this field; to have the massive participation of the people.

The Commission recommends to the Conference:

- a) The establishment in each liberated country of organs that will direct and carry out plans on the aforementioned and unify the orientation and resources of the state.
- b) The establishment of a co-ordination that will facilitate bi-lateral and multi-lateral exchange between the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On the tricontinental cultural operation

The Commission recommends:

- 1) To promote and organize the translation, printing and distribution of classical and modern literary and scientific works that by virtue of their quality and content may break the cultural monopoly of the so-called "Western and Christian civilization".
- 2) To promote and organize the exchange of pictorial, photographic, folkloric and scientific exhibitions to facilitate a better knowledge of the traditional and contemporary culture of our peoples.
- 3) To promote and organize the exchange of theatrical, ballet, circus, puppet and other types of shows.
- 4) To increase the exchange of teachers and students on the secondary and university levels.
- 5) To promote a campaign of reputation of the press, radio, television and the writers and artists who have been bribed by imperialism and who try to move against the course of history and the full intellectual development of the peoples.
- 6) To create on a tricontinental scale a cadres training school for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, in the political, economic and cultural fields.
- 7) For the partial or complete realization of this program in each of the countries participating in the First Tricontinental Conference, there should be instituted a campaign to create a common fund for the defense and expansion of the national cultures of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In order to build up this fund, writers could make contributions of their books; painters could contribute their paintings; sculptors, ceramists, decorators, etc., their works. Simultaneous campaigns could be carried out for the collection of funds in work centers by women's organizations, colleges and universities.
- 8) That there be organized a CULTURAL AFFAIRS COMMISSION within the body created to maintain tricontinental solidarity and the common struggle against imperialism.
- 9) In order that the Cultural Affairs Committee of the Tricontinental Organization may have a permanent organ of information, contact and exchange, the publication of a monthly or a bi-monthly magazine with special editions for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should be promoted.
- 10) That there be organized a Social Research Bureau. This bureau should work to co-ordinate such activities, in close cooperation with pertinent research activities being carried out by socialist countries; should collect,

analyze and make available social, economic, information to the liberation movements and whenever necessary, carry out specific studies at the request of the liberation movements.

- 11) To be established a cinematographic section which would deal mainly with the collection of documentation on liberation struggles. Such a cinematographic section should have documentary film archives, groups of cinema experts and camera men at the service of the organ, with laboratories and mobile filming equipment; it should use all possible channels established by the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents for the effective distribution of full length and documentary films that may be produced in the spirit of this resolution. The receipts obtained from the distribution of these films would be used to increase diffusion and to improve technical and artistic quality.

Regarding National Liberation Movements and Tri-continental Cultural Cooperation

Recommend:

- 12) Those who fight against social and racial discrimination should involve themselves in the anti-imperialist struggle and help the Negroes of the United States and the people of the Union of South Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, in the preservation and development of their cultures.
- 13) A total cultural boycott of South Africa and to work unceasingly for the total isolation of the fascist white regime of South Africa by halting all co-operation in academic, cultural and sporting activities.
- 14) CONSIDERING that the Indian population of various Latin American countries exist in a similar situation of discrimination to that under which the Afro-American population of the U.S.A. suffers; that the situation of extreme exploitation and oppression under which millions of Latin American Indians live, is the result at once of the colonial heritage and feudal remnants existing in countries like Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay maintained by imperialism; the Tri-continental Conference denounces the discriminatory treatment of the Indian population and reaffirms that only national liberation struggles can eliminate these ills.
- 15) RECOGNIZING the special situation in Panama where imperialism develops a profound cultural penetration which affects cultural values and traditions.

RESOLVE to unite the efforts of all participating organizations in support of the Panamanian peoples.

CONSIDERING that the countries waging an armed struggle of national liberation carry on at the same time duties of reconstruction in the social and cultural domain, confirming that in the vast regions of Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique that have been liberated from colonial domination, the political and mass movements of the Portuguese colonies carry out a cultural and

social task in benefit of the population, considering the necessity that the independent countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa express their active solidarity to this struggle by encouraging all measures already taken in the liberated zones by PRELIMO, the PMLA and the PAIGC in the fields of literacy and sanitation.

- 16) RECOMMENDS that revolutionary cadres of the three continents assistance in the accomplishment of social and cultural development in the countries which are fighting for their national liberation.

#### On Coordination of the Activities of Social Organizations of the Three Continents.

The peoples' forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America are greater and their enthusiasm in the struggle to find the appropriate ways and means to solve their common problems is extraordinary. Since the imperialists have tried to keep us divided so as to perpetuate their domination over our peoples, it is the duty of all revolutionaries to carry out the correct revolutionary strategy: to unite all truly anti-imperialist forces to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism led by the U.S.

This is why we are bound by the necessity of strengthening the ties of cooperation among the different mass social organizations of the three continents.

#### On the Role of Youth.

- 1) The Conference, underlines the great revolutionary role played by youth in the struggle for liberation from imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. In many countries, the youth, especially the students, have played an important role in the struggle for liberation.

Considers that the youth of today is the hope of tomorrow and will play an important role in the cultural, economic and social development of the respective countries. If the revolutionary movement ignores these young people, the reactionary forces led by world imperialism will organize them to use them for counter-revolutionary and fascist activities.

Recommends to all of its participants that they work together in order to:

- 1) increase their participation in the national liberation movement,
- 2) increase the number of solidarity festivals, to encourage meetings and cultural exchanges among the young people of the three continents,
- 3) encourage youth organizations, to establish contacts with all of the organizations working on a world-wide scale for solidarity with the anti-imperialist movement for world peace and friendship,
- 4) grant support to the ninth World Festival of Youth and Students for Solidarity, Peace and Friendship. And work for its celebration in a country of Asia, Africa or Latin America.

On the Role of Women

2) Considering that the women of Asia, Africa and Latin America are an indispensable force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism; and for the national reconstruction.

Considering the great contribution given by the women of the three continents in the liberation struggles of their respective countries.

Considering that women must free themselves from the social bondage imposed on them by feudal and bourgeois tradition.

The improving of the social status of women, their increasing role in society and their political education will exert a great influence on the stability of the family, the ideological and moral level of all of society and will make substantial contributions to revolutionary upsurge and the national construction of developing nations.

Recommends that the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America

-- help women to foster their movements.

-- encourage women's organizations to establish contacts and to consider the means of cooperating with the International Democratic Women Federation so as to unify their efforts in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

On the Role of Workers

3) THE FIRST TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE notes with great satisfaction that the workers in Asia, Africa and Latin America are making significant contributions to the struggle against Imperialism, Colonialism and Neocolonialism and for the national reconstruction. In many countries the workers have played a leading part in the liberation struggles.

Considering that the future of all the developing countries will largely depend upon the extent to which the working class is organized, united and educated to shoulder the tasks of national resurgence and industrial reconstruction, the Conference recommends to all its participants:

- 1) To promote Trade Union rights and liberties through progressive legislation and to develop appropriate struggles to get them implemented.
- 2) To organise on official and unofficial levels, the workers' education programmes in correspondence with the social and cultural economic needs of the nations.

- 3) To link the trade union struggles with all the liberation and anti-imperialist struggles going on in the three continents.
- 4) In view of the redoubled efforts by world imperialism through ICFWU to disrupt, demoralise and divide the trade unions it has become imperative to intensify efforts for trade union unity and to establish and increase contacts with the World Federation of Trade Unions which has been consistently fighting for support and solidarity with national liberation struggles and trade union struggles in developing countries.
- 5) To combat the Global strategy and tactics of imperialism and ICFWU, it is necessary to educate the workers in the spirit of internationalism and encourage trade-unions to co-operate with such international organizations as are fighting against Imperialism, Colonialism and Neocolonialism.
- 6) Neocolonialists and feudal forces go on generating reactionary ideas among the workers through their organizations and through discriminatory labour practices so as to foment racial, communal and cast prejudices and differences. Trade Unions must relentlessly fight against such tactics of these exploiting classes and cement class and national unity on the basis of revolutionary ideas and struggles.
- 7) The Tri-continental solidarity movement must organise exchange of visits between the cadres and leaders of trade unions Organizations of Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries so as to develop mutual solidarity and understanding on the role of trade unions in these struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism headed by the U.S.
- 8) Recognizes February 7 as a Day of Solidarity with the exploited and oppressed workers of South Africa who live under the iron heel of fascist domination.
- 9) Urge all organizations represented in this First Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference to:
  - a) Condemn the crimes of the fascist and illegal government of Verwoerd and demand the release of political prisoners, i.e. workers, students, youth and revolutionaries;
  - b) Organise meetings and demonstrations on June 26 annually as an act of solidarity with the imprisoned patriots languishing in the dungeons and concentration camps of the Verwoerd fascist regime, and
  - c) Demand the suppression of concentration camps.

On the Cultural and Ideological Penetration of Imperialism

Considering that:

Cultural and ideological penetration of imperialism takes place among nations still subjected to colonial and imperialist domination, as well as among those that have achieved national sovereignty, constituting a permanent threat to those countries carrying out their social revolution.

Considering that:

Cultural and ideological penetration of imperialism is one of the fundamental weapons of neocolonialism.

Considering that:

In the face of the ideological and cultural invasion of imperialism, it is necessary to defend the peoples' national culture and vigorously promote their growth and development.

Considering that:

It is essential to strengthen the peoples' national pride in their traditions of struggle and culture, and thus stimulate the strengthening of national feelings. This task must be carried out in a spirit of respect for the cultures of other peoples' so that it may serve to deepen the feelings of genuine international solidarity.

Considering that:

The culture and ideology of imperialism must be opposed by revolutionary ideas.

Considering that:

It is necessary for many peoples to defend their national languages, their literature and cultural development. The official use of foreign languages cannot but weaken national feelings. The languages inherited from imperialist powers should be considered within a rational framework of relations among peoples and can be useful for cultural exchange, but should never substitute national language. To some peoples, the defence of their national language against deformations and debasement is their specific task. For others, the task is one of linguistic development or reconstruction to enable an integral expression for nations speaking these languages for centuries.

Considering that:

In order to achieve its objective of economic, political and military domination, the imperialists, especially those of the United States - supported by the reactionary forces of the three continents in the role of subordinate allies, take steps to wipe out the peoples' culture and traditions; attempt to paralyse the peoples' national consciousness by the introduction of their own decadent culture and by using the means of mass communication such as the cinema, magazines and newspapers designed for children, youth and the general public establish so-called cultural centres' in the principal cities, and, in addition, try to 'yankee-ise' the intellectuals.

Considering that:

The imperialists, especially those of the United States, try to strengthen their influence in the fields of education, the arts and the working class movement, and that their attempts are progressively more aggressive in that they are directed not only at the reactionary elements but are also designed to influence the workers, by the employment of enormous financial and technical resources, and likewise through the use of sinecure posts.

Considering that:

The United States imperialist, after concluding military pacts with the reactionary governments of Latin America, Africa and Asia, on the pretext of "cultural exchange and co-operation", created a committee for relations between intellectuals, subsidised by large sums of money via the so-called Ford, Kellog, Rockefeller and Kennedy "foundations". Thus the imperialist permit many intellectual workers and research scientists to take part, to a certain extent, in the military programmes of war and aggression, and since these intellectuals benefit themselves in an opportunistic manner and use as a pretext the difficult conditions they find themselves in to carry out research work, these research and cultural workers are used directly or indirectly to serve the aims of the imperialists, and are set to work against their respective nations.

Considering that:

The United States imperialist are carrying out an extensive undermining operation by means of the so-called "Peace Corps" which functions in the cities and the countryside.

Considering that:

The United States imperialists are trying to subordinate the university teaching of each country to the universities of the metropolises; and that they are availing themselves of invidious sociological research projects in order to carry out political, economic and intellectual espionage.

Considering that:

A veritable invasion of pornographic publications, distorting and defaming the peoples' struggle for their liberation, is pouring over many countries of the three continents.

The Tri-Continental Conference believes that it is urgent to wage an active struggle to rid all manifestations of Colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism led by U.S. and assimilate in the same manner the best of the world's culture and create and develop the national culture based on its own people.

### On Social Security

Considering that:

Hundreds of millions of men all over the world live under sub-human living conditions imposed by the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation. Its policy of domination destroys the sovereignty and free determination of the subjugated peoples and at the same time employs the riches extracted from them, not for their development and well-being, but for distribution, on the one hand, as benefits for the minorities that monopolise capital, and on the other, for nourishing the high budgets for armaments which precisely guarantee the continuity of the regime of exploitation.

Considering that:

The urgent need immediately to obtain better standards of living for all peoples of the world who now suffer from ignorance, starvation, disease, and the defects caused by malnutrition, -- overcrowding, unemployment, premature mortality, and poverty, -- which they are reduced to by imperialist exploitation as a system to maintain its hegemony.

Considering that:

It is imperative that the peoples submitted to the imperialist yoke should intensify their struggle for liberation, relying -- also on their ardent desires for the better social and economic security to strengthen their positions and, at the same time, -- to conquer at all costs the right to a better life, organising the reiterated and systematic demand for those benefits to be derived from a programme of social security and welfare.

The Conference formulates as basic principles of a Social Security and Welfare Programme the following:

- a) Protection for all workers both urban and rural and their families.  
Preservation of the indispensable means of life in cases of sickness or accidents, either general or occupational, maternity, temporal or permanent disability for work, old age, loss of income caused by the death of the head of -- the family, excess number of dependants and work stoppage.
- b) So as to facilitate and increase the services established to render such protection, there will be no discrimination

because of race, nationality, sex, age, religion, ideology, and nature of the occupation, except some cases of work of women and work in dangerous or noxious conditions.

- c) Organisation of the regime of social security on a basis - that facilitates the assignment of rights, taking into account the degree of economic, social, cultural and administrative development of the country in such a way as to insure the complete and enjoyment of the allocations.

The Conference recommends:

The elaboration of structures and plans of social security which corresponds to the situation created by the colonialist regime - and the necessity to solve and eliminate its consequences.

## On Public Health

CONSIDERING: that Public Health has as objective, the attainment for the masses of a healthy life in a physical, mental and social environment in accord with the principles of Medical Sciences. Public Health so defined, cannot be only an end of the liberated peoples, but also, a means of social transformation intrinsically linked to the historic development of the peoples.

CONSIDERING: that the greatest accomplishments in public health - can only be obtained in a social system firmly established on a scientific basis, with a deep preoccupation for its historic transformation, with an active - and conscious participation of its components, and - having as final orientation the well-being of man.

CONSIDERING: that in our three continents, as a legacy from the - imperialist domination, the situation of public health presents alarming characteristics. Malnutrition, tuberculosis, endemic illnesses and all diseases, persist in many countries, as a consequence of the rapacious, ravenous and bloody exploitation imposed on - our peoples by imperialism.

The Conference considers as principles on which a serious public health structure must rest, the following:-

- a) Public Health must be a responsibility of the State and it must be the State which assumes the concrete forms of its realisation.
- b) Public Health has to be total in its structure and organisation, and in accord with the interests of the people. It must be integral in character, emphasizing not only the assistencial aspect but also the preventive.
- c) Public Health must be planned and directed by a central organisation, capable of assuming all functions.
- d) Public Health must take a preferential interest in those problems affecting the great masses, such as vaccination and general health services; specially in the prevention of epidemics; problems of infancy; guarantee of sufficient beds for hospitals; rapid increase in the number of professional and technical personnel, trained with a full understanding that their activities will have the highest social and common goal, far distant from any commercial or lucrative interest.

It should be stressed Public Health plans for rural areas.

- e) Public Health must be based on a correct and massive participation of the people in all campaigns for health.

On the Cultural and Scientific Heritage of Mankind

Considering that:

The oppressed nations and those in the process of development are in a state of great scientific and technical backwardness, due to centuries of foreign oppression; and that the technical and scientific wealth of the countries whose monopolies have plundered the natural resources and men and women of the economically underdeveloped world has been fed throughout the years on the poverty, sweat and blood of millions of human beings from these three continents;

Considering that:

The impoverished people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, together with the working class and all exploited peoples of these same metropolises have provided the capital and conditions for the enormous growth of monopolies, and, with it, the flourishing of huge scientific and technical cultures that in turn have served to increase colonial and imperialist exploitation;

Considering that:

Peoples from the three continents have more than paid their contribution to the technical and scientific progress of the imperialist countries, and as a necessity for development, claim their right to the free use of these achievements of thought and science;

Considering that:

In a world which is becoming free both on a national and social level, culture, in all its manifestations, is to an ever greater extent the heritage of all humanity, it is the duty of all revolutionaries to contribute to its liberation from the commercial bonds imposed by the old order.

THE TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE, therefore, stands for the abolition of all copyrights which benefit commercial monopoly organization and those authors who refuse, for political reasons, to allow the reproduction of their works, which could contribute to the benefit of mankind, in the developing countries. This statement does not entail any disregard of the genuine rights of authors favourably disposed to the dissemination of their contributions to science to all mankind.

The Conference hopes that, the revolutionary countries will find the ways to satisfy this legitimate desire, in such degree as their economies permit. In order to promote this policy, the Conference appeals to authors and research scientists generously to support this resolution.

On the Cultural Revolution in Countries Liberated from  
the imperialist Yoke

Considering that:

The cultural revolution in the countries liberated from the imperialist yoke, is an integral part of the social revolution, and that it is necessary to defeat the colonialist and imperialist inheritance by maintaining a rigorous vigilance against the ulterior ideological penetration of imperialism.

Considering that:

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, liberated from colonial and imperialist rule, are in a state of acute educational and cultural backwardness;

Considering that:

The liberation of these countries is but the first step on the road to national reconstruction and the creation of truly free states.

Considering that:

The popular forces assume leadership in public affairs.

Considering that:

The education of the people must go hand in hand with measures for the transformation of the agrarian situation and the economy as a whole.

Considering that:

The cultural revolution in the liberated nations must be carried out according to the stage of national development, and that the emphasis of the revolution must be placed on or various aspects of this level;

THE TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE states that without a profound cultural revolution, is impossible to overcome underdevelopment and eliminate the colonialist and imperialist heritage.

The Tri-Continental Conference points out these essential aspects of the cultural revolution:

- 1) Increase the standard of general instruction of the population:
  - a) Carry out a general campaign against adult illiteracy in the

first stage of the revolution.

- b) Create institutions to educate the workers and farmers, and organize courses following the illiteracy campaign courses to raise the education to elementary school level.
  - c) Creation of primary schools so that every child may have a school and teacher.
  - d) The development of secondary schools of a general character.
- 2) Increase secondary and higher technical-scientific education.

It is necessary to create technical schools and technological institutes related to the perspectives of national economic development, and tied closely to the country's production sphere.

On the other hand, special attention should be given to university education. Universities should be transformed into centres for the development of national cadres of all kinds and should respond mainly to the urgent need to training high-level technical and scientific personnel, in order to face the country's economic and technical underdevelopment.

The priority given to Natural Science and Technological Education in the universities should not lead to the neglect of the Social Science.

The universities and higher education centres should contribute to scientific research related to the great schemes of national development.

- 3) The development of the arts and literature is a question that deeply affects the most valuable traditions of the people. Special institutions should be created for these matters and support be given to artists and writers, in the firm conviction -- that their work will contribute to the strengthening of the peoples' national and social consciousness.
- 4) Educational and non-educational activities related to physical education are formative elements especially of children and young people.

The spirit of friendly competition and healthy exercise in sports should be increased, working towards the elimination of the professional spirit in sporting events, giving back to them their original content as a cultural expression and as friendly relationship between the peoples.

- 5) Organize political revolutionary instruction among the citizens of a newlyliberated society, especially of the working class and the peasants. This political revolutionary instruction should be based entirely on revolutionary ideas.

Ideas inspired by respect for the workers, by the love for freed labor, by the revolutionary traditions of the people, by universal brotherhood of all the workers and peoples, by hatred of colonialist and imperialist oppression, by revolutionary democracy and love of country, should form part, among other scientific -- appreciations of social development, of the contents of political instruction.

On the Scientific and Technical Revolution

Considering that:

The countries liberated from colonialism and imperialism are in a status of economic deformation and underdevelopment, as well as in evident technical and scientific backwardness.

Considering that:

The present needs of production, on the other hand, demand the use of complex means, whose application and functioning require a degree of skill based upon the knowledge of scientific principles and technical experience.

Considering that:

Without modern means of production and without skilled scientific and technical personnel it is impossible to raise productivity in industry and agriculture and therefore increasing production in such a way as to satisfy the growing needs of the population; and thus make highly profitable the different branches of production which should guarantee the essential material and financial accumulation, to carry out the economic and social development programs.

Considering that:

Scientific and Technical Revolution is a process which comprises the introduction of modern means of production and the training of skilled personnel. It is necessary to take it into serious consideration among social and cultural matters.

Considering that:

In those countries with a high economic development, new technical means are built up as a result of the needs in the economy and the subsequent scientific progress.

Considering that:

Each liberated country has to make its own scientific and technical revolution, therefore has to train its own middle and high level technical cadres, a very important part of the Cultural Revolution.

Considering that:

No Revolution can achieve social success if there is no scientific and technical revolution, and if a higher level of economic development is not reached that will provide the means for progress of the

new free society.

Considering that:

In the educational field, the scientific and technical revolution should contemplate the State's policy of the economic planning, emphasizing the training of technicians.

**THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDS:**

That countries liberated from the yoke of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, should pay special attention to the implementation of the principles of the Scientific and Technical Revolution and to the rigorous study and exchange of experience on the subject, in order to provide extensive and fraternal mutual aid to achieve these far-reaching objectives.

On Physical Education, Athletics and Recreation

Considering that:

various forms of colonialist, neo-colonialist or imperialist exploitation have hindered the mass participation of the peoples of the three continents in athletic activities, and have detracted from the true nature and object of athletics, physical education and recreation.

Considering that:

physical education, athletics and recreation have great importance:

- a) In the integral formation of man; that is, in its, physical and spiritual development.
- b) For the better knowledge and understanding of peoples.
- c) In preventive medicine and the corresponding individual health.
- d) As a means of improving the productive force of the country.
- e) In maintaining the people in perfect physical condition for fighting for liberation and for the defence of the country.
- f) As a powerful factor for the integration of all components of society.

Considering that:

to bring physical education, athletics and recreation to the whole population it is necessary:

- a) to use the resources of peoples who make their revolution; popular organisations; public enthusiasm; the multiple facilities for using installations and means to those ends.
- b) and adopt the measures tending to eliminate anything that may be harmful in some sports.
- c) to propitiate, with the support of popular organisation a sole and centralised orientation, that at the same time will be the driving force of the physical educational activity.
- d) to eliminate commercialism, in athletics.
- e) to propagate intensely, with ideological content, the high principles that must guide physical and athletic education.
- f) that physical and athletic education should progressively develop fully qualified technical cadres.

- g) that in the general formation of teachers and professors, and in their constant betterment, the integral development of the teaching profession should be considered as a fundamental factor in order to bring to the school, actively and by example, physical and athletic education.
- h) that the quality of athletics should be the result of the mass participation of the people.
- i) to promote a high organisation, discipline, systematisation and scientific development with a view to participating in international events.
- j) that athletics should be made available to all sectors of the population, which implies the implementation of special plans in remote regions wherever they exist, especially in rural areas.

Considering that:

for the implementation of the aforementioned principles, and for a better use of indispensable resources, each country requires the creation of a suitable body for directing, orienting, channeling, and controlling the entire programme for athletics, physical education and recreation, in accordance with the needs of the masses; and in order to unite the efforts of all peoples, and develop exchanges among them, it is necessary to establish those bonds that facilitate the implementation and execution of the programme adopted, taking into consideration the characteristics and conditions of each country.

The Conference recommends:

- a) The establishment in each country of organisation for directing and carrying out plans for physical education, athletics and recreation that will unite the guidance, the resources and their application.
- b) The establishment of coordination to facilitate bilateral and multilateral exchanges among the Asiatic, African and Latin American countries, which at the same time would permit the strengthening of a line of action capable of unifying opinions evaluating experiences and determining the forms of aid and struggle for the aforementioned revolutionary principles.
- c) The organisation of sporting institutions in the independent countries or the proper use of those already existing, to give assistance to the peoples who are still under imperialist domination; ensuring in this manner the development of sportsmen, in those countries.

### On the Training of National Cadres

Considering that: the formation of national cadres is a most urgent task which should be given high priority in newly-liberated countries. This vast effort in the field of education should be considered with in the planning of the revolutionary state.

Considering that: the creative fields of national cadres include the formation of economic and administrative cadres; technical and scientific cadres in agriculture and industry; high-level scientific cadres; research, teaching, cultural and political cadres.

Considering that: the planned promotion of national cadres is a consequence of the development of the Cultural Revolution.

Considering that: this purpose requires the creation of institutions of specialised learning aimed at the achievement of these social objectives. In a parallel manner, this purpose requires the reorganisation of institutions existing before the Revolution, in such a way that they should be re-directed in accordance with the new goals.

Considering that: the formation of national cadres should be based on the best elements of the revolutionary youth of each country. In this sense, a wide system of scholarships should be established, in order to ensure the access of youths from the working class, sons of workers and peasants, to the new institutions, created or reorganised. This system of scholarships may cover studies abroad, especially of technical and scientific matters.

Considering that: the young scholarship students must be made aware that it is only through the effort and sacrifices of the working class of their country that they can be adequately educated and can gain access to higher education. Therefore, they should, in their field of specialisation, fulfill the duties that the Revolution may determine, in accordance with its needs, and be loyal to the political ideals and achievements of the Revolution.

Considering that: national cadres should, as far as possible, be formed within their own countries. They should be educated in the national spirit and in the best internationalist traditions.

The Conference declares that: it is the unavoidable duty of all revolutionary countries, to provide on a free basis high-level professors and technicians to developing countries to foster the formation of their scientists and technicians.

Resolution of the Organization Committee

The First Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference gathered in Havana from January 3 to 14, 1966,

Considering the broadness assumed by the Revolutionary Movement in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

Aware of the urgent need to coordinate and intensify solidarity with the purpose of reinforcing the struggle that has been carried on by the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism,

Decides as an immediate measure on the establishment of the following objectives and structures:

NAME

Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization.

OBJECTIVES

To unite, coordinate and encourage the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by U. S. imperialism.

To give effective support to the national liberation movements in the three continents, using all the means within its reach.

To support the revolutionary struggle, as an inalienable and imprescriptible right of the peoples before imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

To give firm and solidary support to the liberated countries of the three continents, which, as a consequence of the revolutionary process carried out by their peoples, are the victims of all forms of imperialist aggression.

To defend the right of the peoples to give themselves the government and the law of their choice as well as the socio-economic system that their sovereign will determines, without any foreign interference.

To cooperate with those of our peoples who are liberated in our continents, to secure their independent development and halt the attempts of the imperialist powers directed towards the destruction of their political, economic and cultural development.

To organize the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents and serve as permanent link among the different movements which are members of the organization.

To give the firmest and broadest support to the battle against racialism and all forms of racial discrimination in the three continents.

To take charge of the implementation of the measures adopted at the First Tricontinental Conference.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

- 1.- It will be composed of a Secretary General and 12 Secretaries, 4 for each Continent. All will be elected from among the members of this First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference.
- 2.- It will have its temporary seat in the city of Havana, Cuba.
- 3.- The functions are the following:
  - a) To implement the decisions of the Conference.
  - b) To prepare the Second Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference which will be held in 1968 in the city of Cairo, United Arab Republic. This Second Tricontinental will decide the seat of the Organization.
  - c) To present before the Second Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference the draft for the final structure of the Tricontinental Organization.
  - d) To supervise the functioning of the Committee of Assistance and Aid to the National Liberation Movements and of Struggle Against Neo-Colonialism.
- 4.- It is responsible before the Conference and shall submit to it a report on the tasks which have been accomplished.

THE COMMITTEE OF ASSISTANCE AND AID TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND OF STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM,

- 1.- It is constituted by twelve members, elected by this Conference.
- 2.- It chooses from among its members one chairman, one vice-chairman and one secretary.
- 3.- Its objectives are:
  - a) To promote, increase and coordinate the effective solidarity with the national liberation movements.
  - b) To apply the measures and to use the necessary means in order to give a real existence and practical efficiency to the fundamental objectives of the Organization, especially those which encourage armed struggle as lawful defense against imperialist violence.
  - c) To provide all the necessary moral, political and material aid to the national liberation movements, particularly to those that wage armed struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

- d) To organize a constant campaign, with all the means within its reach, against the growing policy of imperialist aggression throughout the world and their propaganda directed to conceal, with myths and falsehoods, their vandalic actions in the three continents.

International week of solidarity

On the annual celebration of the week of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Considering the international situation characterized by the expansion of imperialist aggressions, headed by the United States imperialism and directed against the independence, freedom and national rights of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America understanding the extraordinary importance of the efforts of the peoples of all continents to resist imperialist aggression and the strengthening of the solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, carrying out struggles for independence and economic liberation.

Recognizing the historical importance of the First Conference of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which began a new stage in the struggle of the peoples against the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, headed by North American imperialism.

The Conference resolves:

In honour of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to celebrate annually, from the third to the tenth of January, the International Week of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, that struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The Conference calls upon all anti-imperialist forces, progressive and democratic organizations to participate actively in the celebration of an international week of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, organising rallies and meetings intended to unite the peoples of the three continents against imperialism and colonialism.

May the imperialists feel in the days of the international week of solidarity all the strength and power of the fraternal ties uniting fighters against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, their strong determination to continue their fight until the complete extermination of all those oppressive and reactionary forces throughout our beautiful planet.

### On Peaceful Coexistence

Peaceful coexistence refers exclusively to the relations among states of different social and political regimes.

It can not refer to coexistence among the exploited social-classes and their exploiters within a country; it can neither refer to the struggle of the peoples victimized by imperialism against their oppressors.

Consequently, the arguments of peaceful coexistence can not be wielded the way imperialism and its followers have pretended, to limit the rights of the peoples to make their social revolution.

Peaceful coexistence assumes the irrestrictable respect for the self-determination principle of the nations and sovereignty of all states, big and small.

The defense of the principle of peaceful coexistence conveys the repulse of imperialistic aggression, of the criminal use of force against the peoples and of the decisive repulse of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other states, all of which represent the violation of the principle of peaceful coexistence. It entitles the progressive and democratic states of the world to repel the aggressor and help the victims with all their means. When all the democratic and progressive states offer their most decisive help to the victimized peoples, they are keeping alive the principle of peaceful coexistence.

On Military Bases in Foreign Countries

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from the 3rd to the 13th of January, 1966.

CONSIDERING, that the imperialists have created a vast system of military bases, which are in fact police detachments in charge of protecting their economic interests in every part of the world, and that, at the same time, are the instruments for hindering and curbing the advance of the struggle of the peoples for their liberation and self-determination in the countries where they are located,

Forgoing; that those military bases, generally established in those territories without the consent of the peoples, who on various occasions have expressed their disapproval of the existence of those installations, so that in many of those countries great mass movements fight for the suppression of the said bases,

Conscious; that North American imperialism has established thousands of bases and military installations and has placed tens of thousands of their troops in foreign countries where the people have expressed their opposition, and where great mass movements in favor of the liquidation of those bases and against imperialism headed by the United States, have taken place,

Conscious; that this system of aggressive bases against the interests of our peoples is also a fundamental part of the warlike, violent and tense policy of the imperialists being designed to fulfill their purposes of exploitation, and being a constant danger to the sovereignty of the States,

Taking notice; that the presence of troops in several countries of the three continents is another of the three elements of domination at the service of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, and that it also represents a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the States, a means of exerting pressure against the nations and a hindrance to their emancipation and development, and a permanent threat to international peace,

Condemning; the existence of military bases and the presence of troops in foreign countries,

Demanding; the immediate withdrawal of all troops, the dismantling of the military bases and the restitution of the territories encroached.

Recognising; the right possessed by the peoples and governments of refusing to accept the maintenance in their territories of such means of pressure, which attempts against their sovereignty, and supports the struggle for their definitive liquidation.

Calling; all the peoples to fight with decision against the establishment of any kind of foreign military installations and the quartering of foreign troops in other countries.

Denouncing; with the greatest energy the schemes of the imperialist powers, that have forcibly imposed upon the recently emancipated countries such treaties that legalize the maintenance of bases and the

presence of troops for the purpose of perpetuating their domination and of threatening the security of other peoples.

Supporting the just claim of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba for the withdrawal of the military base that the Government of the United States of America has installed in the Bay of Guantanamo, against the will of the Cuban people, and from which it has launched, and still launches, provocative and subversive actions.

On Military Pacts and Foreign Military Bases

This Conference takes note of the struggle of the people all over the world against aggressive military pacts, military bases on foreign soil, the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other nations as aggravating cold war tensions and undermining the independence and sovereignty of nations.

The U.S. Government is taking military assistance of NATO powers - to escalate the war in Viet-Nam. The Seventh Fleet is being used in a vain attempt to crush the liberation struggle of the brave people of South Viet-Nam. It is using the bases and troops of the military pact members against the people of Viet-Nam.

The hundreds of military bases set-up by the U.S. and other imperialist powers in Asia, Africa and Latin America are being used - for espionage, sabotage and provocations and for black-mailing the free countries and against those peoples who are fighting for national independence.

This Conference, in the interests of independence and sovereignty of nations and in the interest of world peace demands:

- (I) That all aggressive military pacts and alliances be abrogated;
- (II) That all foreign military bases be dismantled;
- (III) That all foreign troops be withdrawn.

On West German Imperialism

Considering the trustworthy antecedents on the militarism of West Germany, and its policy directed to make West Germany a North American military base, equipped with atomic weapons, making it the principal focus of war in Europe as well as for its colonialist ambitions, the Tri-Continental Conference of Solidarity,

AGREES:

To denounce the close relation between Yankee imperialism and the imperialism of West Germany in the development of an aggressive policy which endangers world peace.

The imperialism of West Germany, principal ally of North American imperialism attempts against the peace, liberty and independence of the peoples.

The Conference condemns the imperialism of West Germany and considers that its defeat is an important objective in the struggle of the people.

Message to the Working Class and to the Popular Movements  
of Europe and North America

The delegates of the popular movements, gathered at the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, representing the nations of three continents that have suffered the secular exploitation of colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism, practiced by the ruling classes of the United States and the principal capitalist powers of Europe; conscious of the fact that in order to defeat imperialism headed by the United States, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the peoples of Western Europe and of North America must strengthen their solidarity in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle; take this opportunity to address ourselves to the workers, intellectuals, students and the progressive sectors of those countries.

WE SALUTE the struggle waged by the working class of the capitalist countries of Europe and North America against the policy of war and aggression of the imperialists and for the liquidation of the exploitation to which they are subject. The Conference especially acknowledges and welcomes the increasing popular movement in the United States against the interventionist and aggressive war launched by the North American Government in Viet-Nam, and urges the people of the United States to carry on this struggle.

The conference calls upon the working class and the popular movements in Europe and North America to increase and tighten the bonds of solidarity and cooperation with the peoples and liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Our struggle is the same, and we have a common enemy, the liberation of Africa, Asia and Latin America will accelerate the emancipation of the oppressed classes in capitalist countries. The new world for which we fight today opens great perspectives to all mankind, and we all have a place of honour in the fight to conquer it.

Message of Salutation and Stimulus to the People of the United States

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, sends the following message to the people of the United States:

We, the representatives of the peoples of the three continents, -- which constitute the immense majority of mankind, reunited in Havana, a few miles from the coasts of the United States, wish to send our message of solidarity and stimulus to the North American people for the struggle it carries on against the war and aggression policy of the government of President Johnson in various parts of the world.

We greet with emotion the great movement of protest and condemnation that is extending throughout the country against the war of aggression waged against the people of Vietnam by the administration of Johnson.

We fraternally greet the position taken by the working people, -- the most distinguished professors and intellectuals of that nation, whose civic and courageous protests are contributing to enlighten public opinion on the despicable conduct of its Government.

We congratulate the youth of your country that, risking unjust prosecution and punishment, refuse to become accomplices of the crime of genocide perpetrated by Johnson's Government against the Vietnamese people, and that destroy their draft cards in order not to participate in the slaughter.

We strongly wish that the spirit of victory and unity in the struggle against the forces of reaction should reach, as a stimulus, -- the brave fighters for civil rights of the Negro people of the United States, who for centuries have been submitted to a double form of discrimination and exploitation because of their social condition and the color of their skin.

The participants in this Conference, when expressing their solidarity, unite their voices with those of all the honest citizens of that country, to protest against the barbarous crimes committed -- on both black and white citizens by the savage fanatics grouped in the Ku Klux Klan and in other racist organizations, and in demand of an absolute respect for the lives of the Negro people of the United States.

There is no doubt that the war in Vietnam is contributing to awaken consciences, for it has shown the greed of the North American monopolies, that do not hesitate to commit the most atrocious crimes in order to obtain the maximum profit from war.

At times using the pretext of defending democracy or liberty, and at others the argument of protecting the lives and properties of North Americans living in Latin America, Johnson's Government attacks and continues to attack sovereignty; it attacks the democracy that it claims to represent and defend; it attacks the national liberation movements; it attacks international law and the lives of the peoples.

Nevertheless, it is not only against Johnson or Goldwater that the citizens of the United States fight; they also fight against the monolithic and inflexible imperialist policy, based on the power of the dollar, whose mouthpieces talk of liberty and democracy, - but at the same time use, against the people of Vietnam, the hideous napalm and white phosphorus, toxic gas, cynically called "benevolent incapacitator", and commit every crime in their fruitless efforts to crush and indomitable people who will not stop -- their heroic fight until it has achieved victory.

The participants in the Conference view with satisfaction how the different actions taken by the North American people against war, and towards the strengthening of peace, in favour of civil rights and against the policy of aggression carried on by the agents of the monopolies, converge in a stream each day more powerful.

We rejoice in the active presence of the working people, of the - progressive intellectuals and professors, of students and young - people who, significantly, march in the front ranks of the courageous actions against the criminal policy of Johnson's Government.

Each action taken by the people of the United States in these difficult and adverse circumstances, has the support of our peoples - who also, in the three continents, are facing the same cruel enemy.

The moment has arrived for going beyond the stage of simple declarations and entering into total action. It is necessary that Johnson and his war mongering clique should understand that none of their vandalic acts will remain unpunished. It is necessary that North American mothers should prevent their sons from being sent to our countries as "cannon fodder", to defend the selfish interests of a few score privileged men. It is necessary that the youth of your country should refuse to die in order to keep alive those who take advantage of and speculate with the suffering and the blood shed by the great exploited masses. That the North American people cooperate with our peoples by means of their struggles, in the untiring fight in order to defeat the common enemy - of the peoples of the world, namely, North American imperialism.

On the Rights of Afro-Americans in the United States

The First Conference of Solidarity of the African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3rd. to 12th, 1966,

Considering:

- 1- That racial violence and brutal discrimination unleashed in the United States against Afro-American men, women, and children and the white humanitarians who sympathise with them another manifestation of the exploitation of man by man;
- 2- That the Afro-Americans have the universal and inalienable right to legitimate defense, just as all other oppressed people who struggle under the most brutal repression and tyranny, for human rights and full liberation;
- 3- That the struggle of Afro-Americans against racial oppression in the United States has never been so wide-spread or so violent, and that the people in the negro ghettos are increasingly identifying their struggle for liberation with that of the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America;
- 4- That during the rioting in Watts (Los Angeles) and Chicago, Afro-Americans openly proclaimed they were fighting a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers against racism and North American imperialism;
- 5- That, although, geographically, Afro-Americans do not form part of Latin America, Africa, or Asia, the special circumstances of the oppression which they suffer, to which they are subject, and the struggle they are waging, merits special consideration and demands that the Tri-Continental Organization create the necessary mechanisms so that these brothers in the struggle, will in the future, be able to participate in the great battle being fought by the peoples of the three continents.

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. To strongly support the Afro-Americans in their struggle for human rights and survival, in common with the progressive forces which defend this struggle.
2. To condemn the murder of Malcolm X, the arbitrary imprisonment of William Epton, and likewise of the victims of the violence unleashed by imperialism against the leaders and militants who face it.

Presented by the delegation of  
Jamaica, Venezuela, and Indonesia.

On Mahdi Ben Barka

CONSIDERING THAT: Comrade El Mahdi Ben Barka, leader of the National Union of People's Forces of Morocco and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Tri-Continental Conference, was kidnaped in Paris on October 29, 1965.

CONSIDERING THAT: Nearly three months have elapsed since the disappearance of brother Ben Barka with no news about his fate, and that the most alarming possibilities can not be ruled out.

CONSIDERING THAT: The results of the investigations made public establish without the slightest doubt the total, direct and indirect responsibility of General Oufkir, Minister of Interior of the Moroccan Government, as well as the complicity of certain French official services.

CONSIDERING THAT: The French Chief of State has given his own personal formal assurances that investigation will be conducted to the end with diligence and firmness.

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

D e n o u n c e s the hideous crime against our comrade Ben Barka which can only serve the interests of imperialism and reaction;

P a y s a vibrant and fraternal homage to Mahdi Ben Barka who has done so much for the progress of his people and for the cause of the revolutionary movement in the three continents;

D e m a n d s that this tragic affair be elucidated and that any guilty parties, whether they be in Morocco, France or anywhere else be mercilessly punished;

N o t e s the solemn commitment of President de Gaulle that the investigation be pursued regardless of its implications and consequences;

D e c l a r e s that all the organisations taking part in the Conference and the "Committees of Solidarity" with Ben Barka strive untiringly in order to obtain a full clarification of his disappearance.

## RESOLUTIONS ON ASIA

### On Viet-Nam

The first Conference of Solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held at Havana, the capital of the Republic of Cuba from January 3 to 12, 1966, with the participation of 512 representatives of 82 national liberation movements of countries of the three continents, as well as numerous observers of international and regional organizations, and guests from all the parts of the world, has given particular attention to the Viet-Nam problem, the most important question in this Conference.

The Conference has listened to the reports of the delegations of the NLFSV and the DRVN and wholly approves them. All delegates -- that have taken the floor during the Conference have unanimously expressed, on behalf of their respective peoples, their feelings of deep sympathy and admiration and their total and unreserved -- support to the people of Viet-Nam who heroically wage a just struggle in defence of their sacred homeland with unwavering determination and growing victories against the criminal war of aggression of North American imperialism, head of world imperialism. By extending its valuable and efficient support to the sacred cause of the Vietnamese people, the Conference has found such a popular war an exalting example in its noble task of promoting and developing the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents -- against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, for the liberation of the peoples, social progress and world peace. The Conference verifies that for more than 11 years, North American imperialism has been trampling on the sacred national rights of the Vietnamese people; independence, -- sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity that were solemnly recognized by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and that the United States were pledged to respect. The United States impudently -- pursues a neo-colonialist policy of systematic intervention and military aggression against the heroic people of Viet-Nam.

Lately, faced with the repeated victories won by the people of -- South Viet-Nam in the legitimate defensive struggle to safeguard national independence and peace and in order to avoid defeat, the United States of America daily intensifies the war of aggression against South Viet-Nam, with the increasingly massive participation of its own armed forces and those of their satellite countries, of its strategic air force and the Seventh Fleet, and "escalates" -- the war with ever increasing air raids and attacks against the -- DRV, a sovereign and independent country.

Faced with their continued defeats, North American imperialists are feverishly preparing new aggressive plans to increase United States forces to 250,000 by the middle of the year, and later to 300,000 more; to further increase their weapons and war material, multiplying their military operations and air raids with B-52 bombers at a growing rhythm in South Viet-Nam, and spreading them to Laos and Cambodia. To serve their criminal designs, North American aggressors deliberately use scientific discoveries and technical achievements, bombs, napalm, and white phosphorous bombs, chemical products and toxic gases and strategic air force aiming at the systematic and total destruction and extermination of the population of Viet-Nam: massacring the defenceless civil population, destroying whole villages; bombing hospitals, schools, cultural institutions, markets, hydroelectric dams, heavily industrial and economic centers. The repeated attacks of the U.S. air and naval forces are intensified day and night, in an effort to hinder all activities, peaceful work, causing systematic destruction and extermination on Vietnamese territory.

Expressing the common feelings of millions of people in the three continents, the Conference denounces in the strongest possible way -- the North American imperialists as war criminals condemned by all -- the peoples of the world, by all mankind, for their brazen and rapacious war against Viet-Nam. The Conference particularly denounces their present manoeuvres to intensify, widen and taken more dangerous than ever the war in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The Conference condemns their crimes of aggression against Viet-Nam as a blatant -- violation of the rights of the peoples to self-determination of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam and of international law. Human conscience is deeply disgusted and indignant at the barbaric genocide of the North American aggressor who shows total contempt for the most elementary human rights.

The Conference strongly condemns the brutal and deliberate aggression against the DRV, a sovereign and independent country, as a -- clear act of international piracy that constitutes a very dangerous precedent and a threat to the sovereignty of independent states in the three continents.

The Conference considers that no reason whatever could be invoked -- to justify such unspeakable crime against the Vietnamese people who are separated from the U.S.A. by an ocean and who love independence and peace. The Conference denounces and strongly condemns the piratical policy of the United States of America that tends to enslave the people of South Viet-Nam, transforming South Viet-Nam into a -- new type colony and an American military base to test their strategy, tactics, weapons and war material in order to stop the national movements of liberation and subjects the peoples of the three continents, to prepare for war against socialist countries and to undermine the peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

The Conference ascertains that every time that President Johnson -- intensifies and extends the war of aggression, he comes forth with his fraud of the so-called "Will of peace" and "unconditional negotiations".

Recently, together with the intensification, to the highest degree ever, of military operations in South Viet-Nam, their extension to Laos and Cambodia and the accelerated preparation of new plans of aggression with massive introduction of new troops, arms and war-equipment in South Viet-Nam, the Johnson Administration has undertaken a new "offensive of peace", presenting 14 points which ad--

vanced the questions of "provisional cessation of bombardments" against North Viet-Nam, and of taking the Geneva Agreements of 1954 as a "basis for peace", and "unconditional negotiations".

The Conference strongly denounces and condemns the new manoeuvres of intensification and extension of the war carried out by North American aggressors. It also fully condemns and rejects the new misleading propositions of "unconditional negotiations" of the Johnson Administration, as treacherous manoeuvres leading to disguise the recent ever-increasing measures of intensification and extension of the war of aggression, to appease and deceive the North American and world public opinion, to force the Vietnamese people to accept the conditions of North American aggressors, in order to enslave South Viet Nam with impunity, to divide Viet Nam definitively and to sabotage the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

It denounces and strongly condemns the new "offensive of peace" of President Johnson as a manoeuvre leading to extremely dangerous new steps of military recklessness in Viet Nam, in Indochina and in South East Asia. It gives its total support to the declaration of the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam of 5-1-1966 and to that of 5-1-1966 of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation of South Viet Nam on this question.

The Conference strongly condemns the extension of the war of aggression against Laos and Cambodia and supports the just struggle of the people of Laos for independence, neutrality and peace. It also supports the people and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia in their struggle against North American aggressors to defend the territorial integrity, independence and neutrality of Cambodia. The Conference warmly acclaim the solidarity of the struggle that closely unites the peoples of Indochina, in their common struggle against North American imperialists.

The aggressive war against Viet Nam as well as that of the Dominican Republic and other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the crimes committed by the North American aggressors clearly reveal that they are the number one enemy of the peoples of the three Continents and of all mankind.

The Conference reaffirms the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Viet Nam as of all the peoples of the three continents, to use all available means, especially just war to defend the homeland from foreign aggression.

The Conference warmly greets the resounding victories of the Vietnamese people in their determined struggle against the ferocious aggressive war of North American imperialists. The Conference expresses the deep appreciation of the peoples of the three continents for the immense sacrifices by the Vietnamese people whose heroism is universally respected.

Nowdays, when the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America rise up with an irresistible impulse against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the struggle of the people of Viet-Nam against North American imperialism is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples all over the world for their fundamental objectives at the present stage of history that is to say, national liberation, socialism and the safeguarding of world peace.

The Conference considers that the struggle of the people of Viet-Nam is in itself a direct support, and a powerful contribution--- especially through the rich experiences accumulated, to the national liberation movements of the peoples of the three continents, above all the peoples who are at present carrying on a struggle, such as the peoples of the Dominican Republic, of the Congo (Leopoldville) of Laos, etc... and at the same time, it constitutes a brilliant and encouraging example and a stimulus to all the progressive peoples of the World. The peoples of the three continents and of the whole world have the duty to support and help the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and to provide them with profound and fraternal solidarity of struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by North American imperialism. This is why the struggle of the Vietnamese people is justly considered the most important problem of today's struggles of the peoples in the world and has the unanimous support of all peoples of the world. Actively backed and with the aid of the socialist camp, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the international working class and the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, the Vietnamese people scores bigger victories every day. The United States aggressors are weaker and more isolated than ever. Nothing can save them from the inevitable defeat.

The Vietnamese people will win.

The Vietnamese people love peace, but genuine peace cannot be separated from independence. The Conference declares its full support to the five-point declaration of 23/3/65 of the N.L.F. of South Viet Nam and to the four point stand of 8-4-1965, on the government of the D.R.V. The Conference considers that these are the only--- just basis for the solution of the Viet Nam problem, respect for--- the sacred fundamental rights of the people of Viet Nam to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity which have been solemnly recognised by the Geneva Agreements. It is on this basis that a stable and lasting peace could be reestablished in--- Viet Nam, thus contributing to the sovereignty of peace in South East Asia and in the world.

The Tri-continental Conference joining its voice to the voice of the Vietnamese people and all the peoples of the world demands:

Immediate ceasing of the American aggression against South-Viet Nam, immediate withdrawal of all American troops and those of the satellite countries from South Viet Nam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Viet Nam.

Immediate, final and unconditional ceasing of air raids and other acts of aggression against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Compliance with and implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements by the Government of the United States of America.

Recognition of the National Front of Liberation of South Viet Nam, as the only true and legal representative of the people of Viet-Nam, and the right of the Vietnamese people to decide its own affairs, without foreign intervention and on the basis of the political program of the National Front of Liberation of South Viet Nam.

Peaceful re-unification of Viet Nam should be achieved without--- foreign intervention, it is an internal affair of the people of the two zones.

The United States Government must solemnly express its recognition of the 4 points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam of 8.4.65, and prove this by concrete actions. It is only thus that a political solution to the Viet-Nam problem could be envisaged.

The Conference denounces and rejects all manoeuvres leading to United Nations intervention, any attempt of intervention of foreign armed forces in the Vietnamese question and any solution contrary to the declaration of the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam dated April 8, 1965.

The Conference expresses its admiration for the firm determination of the Vietnamese people --- deeply grateful for the support and --- the aid of the peoples of the three continents and of the world to continue the struggle until the liberation of the country from all U.S. aggressors, and the final achievement of its fundamental objectives: national independence, unity and peace.

The Conference warmly welcomes the support of the peoples of the 3 continents and of the world to the people of Viet-Nam, and makes an urgent appeal to the peoples of the three continents, to progressive forces, to all democratic organisations and personalities in all the world for the unceasing intensification of mass movements at all social levels to:

Unite all efforts in order to defeat the new adventurous steps of U.S. Militarists, the new plans of war intensification and expansion including the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong in North Vietnam, to denounce the present peace manoeuvres of the North American authorities, to demand the immediate cessation of the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam the immediate final and unconditional cessation of air raids against North Viet-Nam, the withdrawal of all North American troops as well as the troops of satellite countries from South Viet-Nam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Viet-Nam, observance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, to let the Vietnamese people decide their own affairs.

To develop in every way and in every aspect an active solidarity -- with the people of Viet-Nam; demonstrations, rallies of protest, -- boycotts against the loading and transportation of arms and war material and of North American troops, collection of funds, medicines, food; shipment of weapons and war equipment...celebration of days and weeks of solidarity...as well as commitments such as the enlistment of volunteers for fighting side by side with the Vietnamese people, whenever they call for help; all this in accordance with the specific conditions existing in each country, to intensify the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the countries of the three continents and in the world, constitutes a direct support, and to combine that struggle closely with the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Conference calls on the Governments of all peace-loving countries to recognize de facto et de jure the National Front for Liberation of South Viet-Nam as the sole genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people.

The Conference appeals to the peoples of 3 continents and the peoples of the world to organize from 12 to 19/3/1966 a week of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

In order to coordinate and unceasingly intensify the solidarity movement towards the Vietnamese people, multiply the forms and increase the efficiency of that movement. The Conference decides to establish a tri-continental committee of solidarity with the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against the aggression of the North American imperialists.

The Conference warmly greets the ever-increasing movement of struggle of the people of the United States, comprising a great number of justice-loving people, thousands of young people, women, students, professors, scientists, writers, artists, and religious personalities, who protest, in many different and increasingly energetic ways, against the war of aggression and who support the just struggle of the people of Viet-Nam.

The Conference makes an urgent appeal to the people of the United States to develop further and more intensely the mass movement with a view of denouncing the deceiving manoeuvres of peace of the North American officials, specially to respond to the December 16, 1965 appeal of Viet-Nam Day Committee in the U.S. to demand the immediate, definite and unconditional cessation of the bombings and of the war of aggression against Viet-Nam, which are contrary to the essential principles proclaimed by the Constitution of the United States and harmful to the national interests of the North American people themselves, and to support the just cause of the people of Viet-Nam.

Aware of the serious threat that endangers the common destinies of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as a result of the war waged by North American imperialists against the Vietnamese people, the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America expresses its deep conviction that the struggle of the Vietnamese people supported by the countries of the socialist camp, by the peoples of the three continents, by the working class and the working people of the capitalist countries, including the people of the United States, by all the progressive forces of the world, will finally succeed, South Viet-Nam will be free, Viet-Nam will be peacefully reunified, and the independent Vietnamese people will be able to work for the happiness and progress of mankind peacefully and in close cooperation with the great family of fraternal nations of the three continents and of the peoples of the world.

On the creation of "The Tri-Continental Committee for the Support of the Vietnamese people"

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 12, 1966,

WHEREAS The aggression of North American imperialism against the Vietnamese people part of a world-wide plan of war and aggression on the part of imperialism all over the world. That the war of aggression carried out by North American imperialist against the people of South Vietnam is a "war of extermination" waged by imperialism to enslave the South Vietnamese people, both to test its strategical and tactical weapons, and train officers and soldiers with a view to using them to repress the liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. That the U.S. air force and navy bombings and attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and independent and sovereign country, constitute an insolent challenge to world public opinion in order to set a precedent so that Yankee imperialists may intervene and attack our countries and the peoples on Africa, Asia and Latin America at will.

WHEREAS The heroic and victorious struggle of the South Vietnamese people under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the heroic resistance of the North Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are an important part of the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the common enemy, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by North American imperialism to achieve freedom, independence, peace and social progress. That the outstanding victories of the people of Vietnam constitute common victories for our peoples on the three continents and an endless source of inspiration and encouragement to the movement of national liberation,

WHEREAS Now, more than ever, it is the main task of every people in the world, particularly the peoples of our three continents to defend and energetically support the just and patriotic struggle of the people of Vietnam against Yankee aggression, until final victory,

WHEREAS That it is the duty of our Conference to especially emphasize its militant support to the heroic people of Vietnam.

A G R E E S

FIRST: To establish the Tricontinental Committee of support to the people of Vietnam, fighting against the aggression of North American imperialism, with the following basic purposes:

- \* To inform our peoples in a more extensive and profound way about the criminal war of aggression of North American imperialism against the people of Vietnam in order to intensify the struggle against this unjust war of aggression. - To inform in a more extensive and profound way and fully support the just and heroic, patriotic struggle of the people of Vietnam against Yankee aggression, as well as the true and legitimate position of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on the solution of the Vietnamese problem;
- \* to mobilize, organize, coordinate and intensify the movements of solidarity, support and aid to the Vietnamese -- people, in every aspect, moral, political, material and economic including the aid with volunteers and arms, with in the framework of each country, each continent and tricontinental.

**SECOND:** The Committee will meet at least twice a year or more if necessary and will report to all countries participating in the First Tricontinental Conference of its activities.

**THIRD :** The composition of the Tricontinental Committee for support to the people of Vietnam in its struggle against the aggression of Yankee imperialism as follows:

- President : Venezuela NLF
- 3 Delegates representing 3 continents :
  - Asia : Democratic People's Republic of Korea
  - Africa : NLF Congo (L)
  - Latin America : Cuba
- 2 Delegates representing 2 zones of Vietnam :
  - D.R. Vietnam
  - N.L.F. South Vietnam

The siege of the Committee is La Habana

RESOLUTION

The Political Committee of the Conference decides to transfer the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union concerning the creation of an "International Fund of Aid to Viet-Nam" - to the Tri-Continental Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Viet-Nam, to be studied by this Committee.

On Indonesia

THE FIRST AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE  
STRONGLY PROTEST THE SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRATS IN INDONESIA

The historical First Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference taking place in Havana from January 3 to 12, 1966, attended by 540 delegates from 84 countries and observers of international organizations and countries, with profound concern have been following the recent development in Indonesia.

The development is such that the rightists and the reactionary elements within the Indonesian military forces as the backbone, in cooperation with and instigated by the U.S. imperialists through the C.I.A., have attacked the Indonesian people and nation, violating democratic liberties and split the anti-imperialist national united front which has given important contribution to the struggle of the peoples for the defence and achievement of national independence as well as for the consolidation of Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' solidarity. They are now stepping up and intensifying anti popular and anti communist campaign.

While splitting and dividing the revolutionary unity of the Indonesian people and paying lip service by claiming to stand behind president Sukarno, they are actually continuing with their crime of persecuting all progressive forces, in particular the communists.

So far ten of thousands of people within the progressive movements in Indonesia have been cruelly murdered or tortured, exposing the fascist nature of the present reactionary forces there in power. More than 100,000 people have been arrested. Among them are outstanding leaders in the workers', peasants, women, youth and student movements, and also prominent prominent scientists, writers and journalists. More than 15 universities, academies and hundreds of schools have been arbitrarily closed, their professors and students expelled or arrested. More than 30 newspapers have been banned and more than 300 journalists arrested and persecuted.

In the name of "revolutionary actions", the Indonesian rightists and the reactionary elements in the Indonesian army as the backbone, are launching every type of counter revolutionary actions. In the name of "left" they are turning the situation to the right. In the name of suppressing the "September 30 Movement" they are carrying out a step by step coup by most traitorous methods. In the name of suppressing the "September 30 Movement" they are suppressing communists, and under the anti-communist banners they suppress every democrat, no matter whether he is a nationalist, a religious person or a communist.

In facing the barbarous action of the Indonesian reactionaries, the Indonesian people, especially the workers and peasants who were subjected to a very long suffering from the ruling anti peo-

ple groups and were steeled in a long years of struggle have come out in a more determined resistance through various forms of struggle. Together with the rank and file of the four Armed Forces of the Indonesian Republic, they are now marching forward to defend and safeguard the achievements of the Indonesian revolution and the revolutionary thinking of president Sukarno.

Fully relying on the Indonesian progressive forces and the solid unity and solidarity of the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples' in their common and persistent struggle against imperialism, the -- First Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference strongly protests the -- anti-democratic action of the Indonesian reactionaries in power -- and demands the restoration of democratic liberties in Indonesia as well as the release of all democrats under arrest.

In the interests of our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the subversion practised by the -- imperialist and their lackeys, and in accordance with our sacred duty to step up solidarity actions in the spirit of Afro-Asian-Latin American solidarity, let us express our support to the progressive and patriotic forces in Indonesia.

On Laos

- (1) The First Afro-Asian-Latin-American Peoples' Solidarity Conference;
- (1) NOTICES with anxiety that the present tension in Laos continues to increase because of the interventions and aggressions of North American imperialists and their satellites, which constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos which they signed, thus impeding the reestablishment of peace, of neutrality and of national harmony in Laos.
- (2) CONDEMNNS formally North American imperialists for having shameless violated the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos, by continuing its policy of intervention and aggression against Laos -- and particularly, its methods of war by destruction and massacre by means of air raids against the Laotian people, and its plans for sending North American troops and those of their satellites to occupy Middle and Lower Laos, in order to extend their war of aggression from South Viet-Nam to Laos.
- (3) DEMANDS from North-American imperialists the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos; the total withdrawal from the Laotian territory of all their military personnel, of their arms and war material, as well that those of their satellites, that have been illegally introduced and, in the first place, the immediate suspension of North American air raids over the territory controlled by the patriotic forces of Laos.
- (4) SUPPORTS actively the people of Laos in their struggle against North American imperialist aggressors and their puppets, for the defence of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos, the safeguarding of the Government of Tripartite National Union and the neutrality of Laos. Firmly supports the position points of the four and the measures of five points proclaimed for the solution of the question of Laos as expressed in the Manifest of October 13, 1965 of the National Political Conference of Alliance between the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces of Laos.
- (5) CALLS UPON the peoples and upon the governments of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as upon the peace-loving peoples and governments of the world, so that they should join together in a collective manifestation of solidarity with the people and the patriotic armed forces of Laos and that they should agree to give them an effective aid both material and moral, an increase of indispensable strength, that should make them capable of defeating the intervention and aggression of North American imperialist and of attaining their legitimate aspirations, which consist of promoting a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

On Cambodia

Aware of the Declaration of December 21, 1965 of a spokesman of the Government of the United States of America, renewing accusations -- against Cambodia and confirming the authorisation given to the high North American military officers of the region to attack the Cambodian territory by land or by air wherever they deem it necessary,

Nothing that this open and official threat from the U.S. Government after numerous violations and attacks to the land, air and maritime borders of Cambodia by the U.S. South Viet-Nam armed forces is a prelude to the widening in a great scale of the aggression war against Viet-Nam.

Considering: First, these intentions of the United States Government are contrary to International Law, to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Geneva Agreements of 1954,

Second, the danger of a general conflagration resulting from this declaration of intention from the United States Government as well as from numerous attacks against the Khmer borders and territory by the United States-South Vietnamese armed forces is real and extremely serious,

Third, the duty of justice and peace-loving powers demands the urgent adoption of measures to stop the criminal manoeuvres of North American imperialism and its lackeys in South-East Asia against world -- peace,

Aware of the declaration of the Royal Cambodian Government and the notes addressed to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina of December 26, 1965, as well as the resolution of the Twentieth National Congress of Cambodia of December 28, 1965,

The Tri-Continental Conference held at Havana condemns the policy of aggression adopted by the Government of the United States of America and its Asian lackeys and others, against peaceful and neutral Cambodia.

Requests from all governments of truly anti-imperialist countries to take urgent and concrete measures to put an end to the belligerent policy of the U.S.A. against Cambodia and to the criminal aggression of United States and their mercenary forces against the peoples of Indochina,

Requests that following the example of the O.A.U. countries towards the Rhodesian racists, all justice and peace-loving countries refuse every political, diplomatic, economic and cultural cooperation with the United States Government and all Governments which lend -- their active support to their policy of aggression in Indochina.

On Thailand

The First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Conference convened in Havana from January 3-- 12, 1965.

- 1.- Strongly condemn U.S. imperialism who occupies Thailand and -- turns Thailand into its neo-colonial and that in coordination with Thanom-Prapas traitorous clique arrests, supresses and - persecutes Thai Patriots and democrats by using police and - military armed forces.
- 2.- Strongly condemn Thanom-Prapas clique establish fascist dicta torship in Thailand, strongly condemn its barbarous violation of human rights.
- 3.- Demands Thanom-Prapas government to release patriots and demo crats as well as political prisoners who are unreasonable ar rested and imprisoned.
- 4.- Strongly condemn U.S. imperialism uses Thailand as its milita ry bases for launching aggressive war in Viet-Nam, Laos and - threatening Cambodia as well as those countries in South East Asia.
- 5.- Demands that U.S. imperialism must withdraw all its military - bases, all its aggressive troops and aggressive Headquarters of SEATO out of Thailand.
- 6.- Support the just and right armed struggle and other various - forms of struggle of the Thai people.

On Military Bases in the Indian Ocean

The Tri-Continental Conference takes note of the preparations for the establishment of new military bases by British and American imperialism in some of the islands in the Indian Ocean.

This is part of Anglo-American strategic plans of strengthening military positions east of Suez and Britain is to provide the island sites while the U.S.A. is to meet the cost of installation and equipment.

This Conference condemns the moves as a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of all countries which are in the Indian Ocean area such as those of East Africa, Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon and calls upon the peoples of the three continents to launch a huge campaign against the establishment of such military bases in coordination with the solidarity movements in the countries of the Indian Ocean area.

This Conference further notes that these Anglo-American bases in the Indian Ocean are intended as an instrument to suppress the growing national liberation forces in the Seychelles, Chaylos, Mauritius, Reunion, the Cocos, the Comoro and other islands as well as to convert them into neo-colonialist enclaves of the French, British and U.S. imperialists.

On Korea

The Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana, capital of Cuba, from 3rd to 12th January 1966, strongly condemns the occupation of South Korea - by U.S. imperialists.

Due to the occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialists, Korea is divided into two parts since already 20 years; the Korea's unification is not yet realised; and the Korean people is under - going immeasurable national misfortunes and sufferings.

The U.S. imperialists are brutally oppressing and massacring the people in South Korea; they badly destroyed and ruined the national economy and drove the people's life into an extreme distress.

In flagrant violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, the U.S. imperialist shipped into South Korea various kinds of new types of weapons, turned it into a nuclear and rocket base, and perpetrating incessant war provocations, are aggravating tension in - Korea.

The Conference demands immediate withdrawal from South Korea of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive troops constituting fundamental cause of all the misfortunes of South Korean people and main obstacle of Korea's unification, and actively supports Korean - people in their struggle for realizing the unification of the - country by themselves without any interference from outside.

Despite the strong opposition of the Korean and Japanese peoples and denunciation by the world opinion, the U.S. imperialists instigating the Japanese reactionary government and the puppet clique of Pak Jung Hi in South Korea, have of late fabricated the - criminal "South Korea-Japan Treaty", by all means of fraudulence and intrigues, creating thereby a new serious stage in the overall situation in Korea and Asia.

The "South Korea and Japan Treaty" is an aggressive treaty conducted under the manipulation of the U.S. imperialists as an integral force, to maintain the system of their colonialist rule - doomed to revived Japanese militarists as "shock brigade" in - their aggression on Asia.

The U.S. imperialists hastening the rearmament of the Japanese - militarists, are aluntly opening to them the way of reinvasion - upon other countries.

The Conference resolutely condemns the aggressive "South Korea-Japan Treaty", which opens the road of reinvasion and expansion to the Japanese militarists and the vicious scheme of the U.S. imperialists for setting up the "North East Military Alliance" to oppose the socialist countries and the national independent states in Asia, to suppress the national liberation struggles in this area, and to make "fight Asians against Asians".

Today, the Japanese militarist force, availing themselves of the U.S. aggression on Asia, are scheming to reinvade South Korea, of Asia, and to realise their old dream of ruling over Asia.

Once the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" is fully put into force, the South Korea will become a dual colony of U.S. and Japan; a new obstacle will be created on the road of Korea's unification; and the peace and security of Korea and Asia will be placed under a serious menace.

Today, the Japanese militarists, under the shadow of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty", are infiltrating largely into South Korea and intensifying military collaboration with the South Korean puppet clique.

As show it the Plans of "Operation Three Arrows", "Operation Flying Dragon" unmasked of late, the Japanese militarist force are already preparing of their attack against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union in cooperation with the United States.

Considering that it is an urgent task for peace in Asia and the world to break down the scheme of the Japanese militarists who backed by the U.S. imperialists, are engaged themselves into -- the road the invasion upon Asia, the Conference entirely supports the Korean people in their struggle to reject the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" and to smach the scheme of setting up the "North East Military Alliance".

The Conference calls the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to set a "Month of solidarity with Korean people" from June 25, the day when the U.S. imperialists launched their aggressive war against Korea, to July 27, the day of the signing of Armistice agreement, and to organise and display during this period large movement and actions in support of the just struggle of the Korean people.

On Cyprus

The First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference - greets and supports in all aspects the heroic struggle of the people of Cyprus for full freedom unrestricted independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

Strongly condemns any intervention from any foreign power in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

Also strongly condemns any aggression or threat of aggressions by any foreign power against Cyprus.

Strongly condemns all imperialist pressures exercised on the Government of Cyprus to abandon its non-aligned policy and be subjugated directly or indirectly by NATO.

Strongly believes that the Cyprus problem is the internal affair of the people of Cyprus and that its solution should be exclusively in the hands of the people, who as a whole only can decide about their future.

Supports unreservedly the right of the people of Cyprus as a whole to exercise the right of self-determination.

Condemns the existence of foreign military bases on the land of Cyprus and considers these bases as a menace of peace in the middle east and a threat to the neighbouring Arab countries and strongly supports the demand for their elimination.

Manifest its firm determination to render every assistance to the people of Cyprus for achievement of their rights.

On Palestine

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples' of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, January 3 - 12, 1966.

- Having heard the report of the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the reports of some of the delegates of the three Continents as to the reality of colonialist, zionist usurpation of Palestine and aggression on its people.
- Having reviewed the resolutions of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council Sessions, and Conferences held in Cairo, Conakry, Bandung, Cyprus, Algiers, Moshi and Winneba on this issue,
- Having studied the conditions in which Israel was imposed on Palestine, and analysing its role in the service of colonialism, and neo-colonialism in their fight against the forces of liberation forces, and progress and peace in the region.
- Believing in the right of peoples to freedom, independence and self-determination and, faithful to the revolutionary principles of the Tri-Continental Conference; namely: the unity of aim and the unity of destiny of the peoples in their common anti-imperialist struggle,

The Conference;

- (1) CONSIDERS Zionism as an imperialist movement by its very nature, aggressive and expansionist in its aims, racialist in its structure and fascist in its means and methods.
- (2) CONSIDERS the Zionist settler-State as an imperialist base and as a subservient instrument and obedient tool of imperialism to be used for aggression and imperialist economic, political and cultural penetration and infiltration in the three continents. As such Israel constitutes a threat to world security and peace and an impediment to the development and progress in the area.
- (3) CONSIDERS the right of the Palestinians to liberate their country as an extension to their inherent and inalienable right of self-defence.

On Occupied South Yemen

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana, 3 to 12 January, 1966.

-- HAVING assessed the actual situation in the occupied South Yemen, and well aware of the intentions and conspiracies of British colonialism against the future of the people in the region,

-- HAVING taken note of the victories scored by the all-out armed revolution under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen,

-- and in confirmation of the principles in the cause of which it is meeting,

(1) HAILS the heroic struggle waged by the people of the Occupied South Yemen to liberate themselves from British colonialism and the puppet reactionary regime.

(2) CONSIDERS the armed struggle in the Occupied South Yemen the sole effective means to liquidate British colonialism and its aggressive military bases, to put an end to the rule of the Sultans, feudalists and other agents of colonialism propped up in the region against the wish and interests of the people of the region.

(3) CONSIDERS the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen which leads the armed Revolution against colonialism and neo-colonialism in the occupied South Yemen as the sole representative of the people of the Region.

(4) CONDEMNNS British colonialist criminal acts, the brutal war of extermination waged against the people of the regions, strafing of the villages, burning of the crops and farms, contaminating of the water wells and rendering homeless tens of thousands of men, women, children and the aged, not stopping short of killing hundreds.

(5) CONDEMNIS all the terrorist barbarous measures perpetrated by the British colonial authorities against the people and demands the immediate release of the political detainees and cessation of the inhuman tortures they are subjected to;

(6) DENOUNCES all the colonialist conspiracies and designs Britain hatches against the interests of the people and considers the faked Federation of South Arabia it set up in the occupied South Yemen as nothing short of a tool in the hands of the colonialists and a preliminary step to neo-colonialism.

(7) DENOUNCES all British attempts to establish a regime that does not represent the people in the region, with the intent of granting a nominal independence in 1968; calls on all States not to recognise such an independence.

(8) CALLS on all revolutionary organisations in the world to back and support the peoples of the occupied South Yemen in their just struggle against British colonialism.

(9) URGES the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist liberated States to provide the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen with funds and arms to enable it to continue the armed struggle til the final realisation of the aims of the people.

(10) CALLS on International Relief Organisations to supply foodstuffs, medicine and clothes to the destitute refugees, the victims of the British aggressive military operations.

On The Arab Peninsula

The First Conference of Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity, held in Havana from 3-10 January, 1966.

Supports the struggle of the people of the Arab Peninsula, under the leadership of Arab Socialist Front, for the realization of the following aims:

- 1.- Liberation of the Arab Peninsula from the imperialist Saudi Arabian regime.
- 2.- Establishment of democratic socialist regime liberating the people from all types of misery; servitude and providing them with a decent free life.

Denounces the existence of American or British military bases in the Arab Peninsula, so-called Saudi Arabia, demands their immediate liquidation.

Vehemently condemns the absolute dictatorship, the atrocities -- committed by the Saudi Arabian government to suppress the liberties of the people and deprive them from a democratic system of government; and the prevalence of disease, poverty, ignorance; - demands the immediate release of political prisoners and detainees.

Considers the appellation by Saudi Arabia, of the Arab Peninsula an act that violates the peoples rights, and demands its immediate change.

Demands the establishment of a democratic rule where the peoples exercise full rights.

Considers the arms deals concluded between the United States and Britain and the Saudi Arabian government an act of aggression against all democratic and freedom loving forces and a violation of world peace.

In Support of the Struggle of the Japanese people (Corrected)

The First Conference of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America

Considering the importance of the struggle of the Japanese people who are courageously fighting against U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces and for the realization of independence, peace and democracy.

Fully supports the Japanese people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and the Japan-South Treaty, for the withdrawal of U.S. military bases and troops in Japan and the return of U.S. occupied Okinawa and Ogasawara to Japan, - against the call of U.S. nuclear submarines at Japanese ports, - nuclear armament of the country and the turning of Japan into a base for nuclear attacks, against the revival of Japanese militarism, and for the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

The Conference,

Expressing solidarity with the Japanese people in their struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the relief of atom bomb victims,

Supports the convocation of the 12th World Conference against A and H Bombs which will be held in Japan, in August this year.

On the Use of Gurkhas by the British Imperialists and other Countries

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, considering the use of mercenaries especially Gurkhas from Nepal, to check the liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and all parts of the world, unanimously condemns such practices and demands that the Nepalese Government should immediately revoke any treaty with British imperialism which allows the use of Gurkhas by British imperialism and other countries as tools of intimidation and aggression in North Kalimantan or elsewhere and under whatever other circumstances.

## RESOLUTIONS ON AFRICA

### On South Africa

Conference notes that South Africa is:

- 1.- The stronghold of Colonialism in Southern Africa and is actively supported by the imperialist powers of Britain, U.S.A., West Germany, France, Japan, Italy and Belgium.
- 2.- Fast being transformed into a major industrial and military centre, and a springboard for imperialist domination throughout the African continent, and in particular in Southern Africa.
- 3.- Part of a vicious Fascist Axis comprising Southern Rhodesia, so-called Portuguese Territories of Angola and Mozambique and itself.
- 4.- Continuing, despite international public opinion, to practise the most diabolical form of racism in the 20th century. This brutal and barbaric system - notoriously known throughout the world as Apartheid, is responsible for increasing oppression of 4/5 of the South African population merely on the basis of colour.

Conference further notes that:

- 1.- Over 8,000 leaders, cadres and revolutionary activists - including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Bram Fischer of the National Liberation and Trade Union Organisations are languishing in the dreaded South African - Robben Island - and other prisons.
- 2.- Over 50 political prisoners in South Africa have been sentenced to death, among them, the heroic A.N.C. and Trade Union Leader, Vuyisile Mini, who sent to the gallows shouting the battle cry of Unkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) - "Amandla Ngawethu". (Power to the People).

3.- Resistance to white domination in S.A. has now entered the - stage of armed struggle.

Conference, in condemnation of imperialist domination in S.A., therefore calls upon all members represented here to work for:

- 1.- The complete economic, diplomatic, cultural and sporting boycott of S.A., as well as for an oil and arms embargo on - South Africa.
- 2.- The strengthening of the National Liberation Organisation in South Africa, and its armed units by giving it all possible material and moral support.
- 3.- The unconditional release of all South African political prisoners.
- 4.- To defeat the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, the fascist Salazar regimes in Angola and Mozambique and for the achievement of full national independence by the oppressed African people in these countries.

On Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia)

The first Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference convened in Havana, Cuba from the 3rd to 12th January, 1966:-

1. Notes that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the -- British settlers in Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia) on November 11th, 1965 -- is an aggressive conspiracy devised by Britain itself as a means -- to

- (a) Entrench white race supremacy and white minority colonial rule in Zimbabwe;
- (b) Establish permanent white versus black Iron-Courtain in Africa along the river Zambezi with white minority ruled States in the South and -- African majority ruled States in the North.
- (c) Consolidate fascist States in SOUTHERN Africa to act as bastions for imperialist aggression, subversion and recolonisation of Africa;
- (d) Enslave the African people of Zimbabwe as source of cheap labour for exploitation and maintenance of British capitalist monopoly;
- (e) Perpetrate a race and colour war in Zimbabwe for the sole purpose of providing a pretext for sabotaging and frustrating the independence of African States and the right of Self-determination -- and National Independence of the African people -- of Zimbabwe.

2. Considers that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence constitutes a declaration of war against the African people of Zimbabwe and an imperialist threat to peace in Africa and the world.

Therefore, this Conference strongly condemn Britain for:

- (a) Conspiring against the African people of Zimbabwe by granting minority Independence to its fascist kith and kin under the guise of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence.
- (b) Arming and training its kith and kin as a strong military force, long before the seizure of the illegal independence with a view to use this military force against the African people of Zimbabwe in maintaining its minority and the illegal independence:

3. In view of this naked aggression and conspiracy by the British against the African people of Zimbabwe, this Conference :

- (a) Supports the firm stand of the people of Zimbabwe as clearly expressed by ZAPU to keep on struggling relentlessly until the British aggression and Colonial rule are ended in Zimbabwe;
- (b) Recognises the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU) as the only Liberation Movement and the only authentic representative of the African people of Zimbabwe;
- (c) "Proclaims its firm solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe, which confronts a life or death struggle, expressing its moral support to their struggle".
- (d) "Urges the socialist and independent countries and all progressive organisations of Asia, Africa and Latin America to offer their determined and unconditional support: material and economic to Zimbabwe African People's Union, giving all facilities to the intensification of their struggle, in order to obtain the victory on the colonial government and British imperialism."

"The Special Committee will be composed by the United Arab Republic, in representation of Africa; Cuba, representing Latin America; and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam representing Asia".

- (e) Establishes a Special Committee for Zimbabwe, consisting of four Countries.

This Committee of four countries shall consist of -- Zimbabwe and one country from each of the Three Continents to implement this Resolution.

- (f) "Demands the immediate freedom of all political prisoners and detainees, as well as the abolition of the existing ghettos".

On the Congo-Leopoldville

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa - and Latin America, convened in Havana from January 3 to 12, 1966.

By giving its valuable and effective support to the sacred cause - of the Congolese people, the Conference has found in the armed - struggle of the people of the Congo, an exalting example in their noble task of giving impulse and of developing the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents against imperialism, - colonialism, the only way in which peace and quiet can exist in - the three continents, in particular; and in the whole world in - general.

Considering that the Congolese people is the object of permanent aggression from the imperialist powers since 1960,

Considering that the intromission of North American imperialism - on all the sectors of national life, and its infiltration of financial oligarchies constitute the most notorious sign of neo-co - lonialist penetration, of domination and of exploitation.

Considering that the presence of the imperialist armed forces in the military bases of Kitona and Kamina, constitute a very se - rious threat against the sovereignty of the Congolese State, in particular, and against the security of Africa in general.

Considering that this situation, evidenced in the past by the disastrous role played in the Congo, by the United Nations Orga - nization controlled by the United States of America, and more recently by the growth of a fascist regime, marked by a series of declarations raised in Africa against the United States of America, as was the case in Latin America and Asia, on the Vietnamese question.

Affirming that for more than five years, American Imperialism has been trampling on the constitutional rights of the Congolese nation, namely: national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity in order to enslave it.

Considering that the armed struggle of the Congolese people, constitutes an evident contribution to the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperial - ism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and that in this respect it deserves the support of the growing solidarity of the peoples of the three continents.

THE FIRST SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, CONVENED AT HAVANA FROM THE 3rd. TO THE 12th, OF JANUARY OF 1966:

Affirms its total support to the armed struggle for the libera - tion of the Congolese people which has always profited

by the demonstration of solidarity of the revolutionary peoples.

- 2.- The Conference decides to create a tri-continental committee of solidarity for the just struggle of the Congolese people against the cruel and ceaseless aggression of imperialism.
- 3.- Vigorously denounces and condemns the military fascist regime installed in the Congo by Yankee imperialists and their accomplices.
- 4.- Demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the mercenaries who are at the present in the Congo, and the dismantling of the military bases at Kamina and Kitona.
- 5.- Invites all the Governments of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to deny recognition to the puppet regime of traitor Mobutu.
- 6.- Invites all the progressive governments and organizations of the three continents to support and concretely aid the armed struggle of the Congolese People and to recognise the National Council of Liberation (" C.N.L. ") of Congo, as the sole genuine representative of the Congolese people by offering it unreserved moral, political, diplomatic and material support.

On Mozambique

Greets the armed struggle that the heroic people of Mozambique is carrying on; under the leadership of FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique).

Assures the people of Mozambique and its organisation, the FRELIMO, of its total support to the struggle they are leading against Portuguese colonialism and for their total national independence.

Denounces and condemns the coalition of the governments of South-Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal; whose object is to impose white supremacy in the South of Africa.

Denounces and condemns the cooperation between the Portuguese and the British police in Swaziland and in Rhodesia, which has already permitted the arrest of several Mozambican nationalists in these two countries.

Calls upon world public opinion to demand liberty for all Mozambican nationalists arbitrarily imprisoned by Portuguese colonial authorities.

Expresses its gratitude to the peoples, governments and organisations which support the Mozambican people in their struggle for a real national liberation and, particularly, to the people and the government of TANZANIA.

Supports the decision of the IVth Conference of the Organisation of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, and Asia, and declares the 25th of September as the Day of Solidarity with the people of Mozambique.

On so-called Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands

-Greet<sup>s</sup> the successful development of the armed struggle carried on by the people of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People, under the leadership of the African Party of Independence of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and of Cape Verde Islands. (P.A.I.G.C.)

-Encourages the people of Cape Verde Islands and its national organisation, the PAIGC (African Party of Independence) to continue their efforts in order to extend the armed struggle to Cape Verde Islands,

-Gives assurances to the people of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and of Cape Verde Islands of its total support to their heroic struggle against Portuguese colonialism and for total and complete independence,

-Proclaims its unconditional support to all the measures that the PAIGC consider necessary to take on the political level, to consolidate the achievements of the struggle in Guinea and in order to harmonise the international juridical situation of the people of Guinea with the specific situation of that country.

-Expresses its recognition to all African peoples and in particular, to the people of the Republic of Guinea, to its Government and to the Democratic Party of Guinea, for the support that they have never ceased to give to the people of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and of Cape Verde Islands and to its National Party.

On the countries under Portuguese Colonial Domination

The First Tri-Continental Conference, held in Havana from the 3 to the 12th January, 1966, after having analysed the situation in -- the Portuguese colonies:

Denounces and condemns the backward and criminal policy of the colonial-fascist government of Portugal;

Denounces and condemns the allies of the Portuguese government, -- and in particular the member countries of NATO, who give it aid -- and assistance in its criminal policy against Angola, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, the islands of Cape Verde, Mozambique and -- Sao Tome and Prince;

Greets the heroic struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for their national independence;

Recognises that armed struggle is the effective road in the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism and the achievement of the just -- aspirations of the people of the Portuguese colonies for freedom -- and national independence.

Calls upon the people of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin-America and all the organisations of solidarity of the three continents to give to the struggling organisations of the Portuguese colonies the necessary aid for the development of their struggle -- of liberation and particularly:

- a) Aid in arms and military equipment, necessary for the development of the armed struggle;
- b) Facilities for transit of military material;
- c) Financial aid;
- d) Aid in sanitary, school, education material and consumer goods for the supply of the fighters and the population in the liberated areas;
- e) Facilities for documentation, entry sojourn and circulation -- in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America to the fighters for freedom of the Portuguese colonies.

On Angola

The First Tri-Continental Conference greets the armed struggle carried on by the people of Angola for their national liberation under the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (P.M.L.A.).

CONSIDERING the difficult situation created in Southern Africa by the unilateral proclamation of independence of the white minority headed by Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia;

CONSIDERING that the existence in this part of Africa of a military bloc formed by Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, is a permanent threat for Africa and world peace and that it tends to suppress the just aspirations of the African peoples oppressed by the Portuguese colonial rule, by the racists of South Africa, and by the white minorities of Southern Rhodesia;

CONSIDERING that the development of the armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies under the leadership of the Nationalist Organisations united in the C.N.O.P.C. is a most valuable contribution for the solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, to the strengthening of African Unity and of all anti-imperialist forces;

CONSIDERING that the development of the armed struggle is closely related to the possibilities of transit of arms and troops in the African countries, especially those bordering Angola, the First Tri-Continental Conference recommends those countries to comply with and implement the decisions taken at the Fourth Conference of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples, as well as those adopted by the heads of states and governments in Accra, requesting all neighbouring states of the Portuguese colonies to allow the transit of men and supplies necessary for the early success of the liberation movement struggle.

APPEALS to the solidarity committees of the peoples of the three continents to the popular movement for the liberation of Angola (P.M.L.A.) which is the organisation that leads the armed struggle of the people of Angola to strengthen their aid by all possible means, including the supply of arms.

The Tri-Continental Conference recommends that the 4th of February of each year, anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle be observed as a day of international solidarity with the people of Angola.

On Morocco

The first Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 - 12 1966:

Denounces the trend of the power in Morocco towards the establishment of an open military and repressive dictatorship. This trend was evidenced by the "conspiracy of July, 1963", confirmed by the repression of the demonstrations of March, 1964 and recently crowned by the kidnapping of El Mahdi Ben Barka.

Verifies the deterioration of the economic and social situation which has made more acute the impoverishment of the masses and the under-development and has strengthened the control of the imperialist monopolies over the economy of the country.

Notes with satisfaction the development of the consciousness of the popular masses, that have expressed through demonstrations of workers and students and by the current of discontent in the rural sections, their condemnations of the policy of impoverishment and rejection of its neo-colonialist domination.

Proclaims its full support to the struggle of the popular forces against the feudal and neo-colonialist empire and for the establishment of a true democracy in Morocco.

Invites all popular organisations of the three continents to strengthen their support to the struggle of the progressive forces in Morocco.

On Niger

CONSIDERING THAT: After more than six years the people of Niger lives in a terror which characterises the present regime imposed by the French forces of repression.

CONSIDERING THAT: After 3.8.60 Niger only nominally became an independent republic, such independence having been granted by France after securing for herself the wealth of the country through illegal agreements.

CONSIDERING THAT: A savage oppression daily afflicts the masses who express their hostility towards the unpopular regime of the Diori Boubou Hama clique.

CONSIDERING THAT: There has been an almost total non-existence of freedom of expression nor assembly, nor trade union, political or social organisation, for more than six years.

Whereas the fascist Diori regime has committed mass murders since 1962, and particularly in 1964, when the people of Niger, under the leadership of the Sawaba Party rose in arms in order to make the neo-colonialists of Niger respect the Declaration of Human Rights, which the puppet regime of Niger signed at the United Nations.

CONSIDERING THAT: After more than four years several leaders of the Sawaba Party, as Adamon Sekou, former Minister of Public Works and member of the Political Bureau, Hima Dombele, former Deputy, Assana Mayaki, Aboubakar Kao, former Minister, Zhodi, Former Minister, Mounkaila Issifi, former Deputy, Alhadji Amadou Gabriel, former Mayor, all members of the Political Bureau, and many other well known militants loved by the people, held in the neo-colonialist goals of Niger.

CONSIDERING THAT: The present regime's clique, panic-stricken by the actions of the Niger militants, employ all the old methods of fascist repression: public executions, hangings, night murders, rapes, etc.

CONSIDERING THAT: The U.S.A. have supplied an significant quantity of modern arms and munition to the Government and have asked Israel to send military and civil instructors in order to train the puppet army and the civil reactionary clique in the use of arms.

CONSIDERING THAT: In spite of the imperialist coalition of the U.S.A., Israel, France, Federal Germany, the people of Niger, under the leadership of the Sawaba Party is more determined than ever to wage its just struggle until the final victory.

The Delegation of Niger (Sawaba) to the First Tricontinental Conference demands:

The re-establishment in Niger of freedom of expression, and political and labour organisation.

The immediate and unconditional liberation of thousands of political detainees who have been held in prison from many years.

The immediate ending of mass and individual murders and a total amnesty for all political detainees.

The Delegation of the Sawaba Party requests the active solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in their just struggle against neo-colonialism, imperialism and for the true-independence of their country.

On Sudan

The first conference of the three continents denounces the conspiracies of the imperialists and their agents to separate the southern provinces and stands against of the actions of the reactionary regimes in Sudan in expelling the opposition from the parliament and prohibiting the democratic organizations.

We the representatives of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America support the just struggle of the Sudanese people for democracy and maintaining the unity of their country.

On French Somaliland

The First Afro-Asian and Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, condemns the presence of French Colonialism in Djibouty, a part of the Somali homeland and demands the liquidation of the French colonialism and the achievement of the Somali people in Djibouty of their freedom and independence so as to be able to reunify their homeland.

The Conference denounces the collusion between the Ethiopian and United States neo-colonialism to transform Djibouty into a U.S. military base so as to the French Military base there.

The Conference affirms the necessity of the total unity of the Somali people.

On South West Africa

The Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana, CUBA, reaffirms the unshakable solidarity of the peoples of the three continents with and total support for the people of SOUTH WEST AFRICA in their just struggle against the Verwoerd fascist and racist administration, and for complete national liberation and independence.

On Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

This Conference noting with deep concern the general developments in Southern Africa, wherein the British government actively promotes the interests of three and a half million whites at the expense of the twenty-one million African people in that part of the African Continent,

And aware of the interference of the fascist regime of South Africa in the matters of all the neighbouring countries,

Vehemently condemns the British government for conniving with the Verwoerd government to place in power, puppet government in Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland,

Wholly associates itself with resolution NO AHS/36 of the African Heads of State and Government meeting in Accra in October 1965, declaring continued support to the liberation movements in these countries,

Calls on the British government to accede to the demands of the peoples of these countries for free and democratic elections before independence, and

Further demands the immediate withdrawal of the British forces presently stationed in Swaziland, and

Calls for the dismantling of the Anglo-South African military base on the borders of Bechuanaland, South West Africa and Zambia.

On St. Thomas and Principe

- Considering the policy of obscurantism and of exploitation carried out by the government of Portugal in Sao Tomé and Principe and which expresses itself in particular by the maintenance of forced labour in those countries;

- Considering the policy of repression of the Portuguese government for suppressing the just aspirations of the people of Sao Tomé and Principe for self-determination and for independence, as well as the growing intensification of the means employed by the (PDD) and the colonial army;

- Considering the tradition of struggle of the people of Sao Tomé and Principe and their effective contribution to the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial system;

- Decides to greet and support, by all possible means, the struggle of the people of Sao Tomé and Principe for their liberation and independence.

RESOLUTIONS ON LATIN AMERICA

On the OAS

- 1.- That since its proclamation, in the past century, the doctrine of the so-called Pan Americanism came forth to prevent the regional unity of Latin America and to infuse new life to the -- Monroe Doctrine, which is the base of the imperial hegemony policy of the United States in Latin America.
- 2.- That the Organisation of American States, within the Inter-American System, the instrument created in post-war years and fitted to the new conditions begotten by it, to carry out the traditional policy of plunder and loot of the United States in -- the Western Hemisphere.
- 3.- That the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro, signed in 1947, is the first institutional manifestation of the "cold war" in America, and through it the United -- States has bound the Latin American countries to its strategy -- of military aggression.
- 4.- That the provisions of the constitution of the OAS, that is, the Charter of Bogota, establish close links between the Organisa-- tion and the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, thus binding the Organisa-- tion of American States to the political and military obligations of the said Treaty.
- 5.- That since its shameful complicity with the military aggression of the United States against the people of Korea in 1950, the -- Organisation of American States has followed the same imperialist line of "anti-communism" and "cold war", becoming mere appendix of the aggressive North American foreign policy.
- 6.- That in 1954 the Organisation of American States impudently violated its own Charter brutally trampling the principles of non-intervention, a cornerstone of the Inter-American system when -- in connivance with the exploiting monopolist interests of the -- United Fruit Company plotted the invasion of Guatemala and the overthrow of its popular and democratic regime.
- 7.- That since the victory of the Cuban Revolution in January, 1959 the Organisation of American States, despite the rightful and -- numerous denunciations of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba -- systematically ignored by that organisation-- has concealed -- the cowardly, criminal and illegal activities of the United --- States when the latter, with the complicity of the governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and others, and using the -- territories of these countries, promoted the subversion and the launching of the mercenary invasion against Cuba that ended in ominous defeat in Playa Girón.
- 8.- That with the complicity of the Organisation of the American -- States, dozens of piratical attacks were launched from military bases located in the United States and in countries of the Ca-- ribbean scores of provocations and armed aggressions have been carried out from the Guantánamo Naval Base -- a piece of Cuban territory occupied by the military forces of the United States Government and countless violations of the sovereign air space of Cuba have been committed by military North American planes.

- 9.- That once more, at the beginning of 1964, the OAS beheld in -- guilty silence the massacre of hundreds of young Panamanians by the United States military forces stationed in the Canal Zone, ignoring the just Panamanian denunciations.
- 10.- That the Organisation of American States with unprecedented cynicism, and letting the aggressors play the role of prosecutors -- of their own victims, illegally and arbitrarily decided the expulsion of Cuba from the Organisation, and imposed all kinds of sanctions against the people and the revolutionary government -- of Cuba, in open contradiction of the very principles of the -- Charter of Bogotá.
- 11.- That with the creation of the so-called "Inter-American Peace -- Force" at the time of the armed invasion of the Dominican Republic by military forces of the United States, the Organisation of American States has become the gendarme of the fraternal peoples of the continent and a threat to the peace and security of the world.
- 12.- That in open contradiction with all principles of International Law, including that of non-intervention, formulated in the Charter of Bogotá, the Organisation of American States has established a trusteeship in the Dominican Republic, maintaining at the same time the military occupation of that country.
- 13.- That the isolated positions adopted in recent years by several Latin American governments in regard to certain aspects of the pro-imperialist policy of the Organisation of American States -- (OAS), have not and could not frustrate or even diminish the -- anti-democratic nature of this Organisation.

Consequently, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in condemning the object actions of the OAS, servile instrument of the policy of economic, political and military domination of -- Yankee imperialism in Latin America,

#### PROCLAIMS:

That neither the peoples of Latin America nor the governments -- that may come into power as a result of the victory of the national liberation movements in this continent are bound any -- agreements or treaties of the Organisation of American States, particularly the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and those that deny in practice the principles of non-intervention, self-determination, sovereign equality and independence.

That the Organisation of American States has no juridical or -- moral authority whatsoever to represent the Latin American continent.

That the only organisation able to represent Latin America, -- will be the one created by the democratic and anti-imperialist governments born from the free will of the peoples of Latin -- America.

Resolution Condemning resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from the 3rd to the 10th of January, 1966.

Aware: that the House of Representatives of the United States of America has adopted the resolution 560, dated September 20, 1965, ratifying the continuation of the policy of intervention of the Government of the United States, as previously stated in the cynical Monroe Doctrine, and by which they abrogate the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any country in the continent with total contempt for the peoples, and ignoring the elementary rules of international relations in violation of the treaties that express the right of autodetermination.

Considering that: North American imperialists impute to external forces the increasing fight of the Latin American peoples for the liquidation of foreign domination which they themselves exert,

Considering that: the recent armed interventions of the imperialist Government of the United States in the Dominican Republic, Panama and other countries; add up to the long list of aggressions suffered by Latin American countries for almost one century,

Considering that: with resolutions of this kind the imperialists pretend legalize their piratical actions,

The Conference proclaims: the right of all peoples to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence and calls upon all the peoples to offer their moral and material support to those who fight for the liberation of Latin America.

The participants in this Conference express their solidarity to the Latin American peoples whose sovereignty is threatened by the above mentioned Resolution.

- 1.- Reject the pretensions of the House of Representatives of the United States that arbitrarily intends to arrogate the right of intervening in the internal affairs of Latin American countries.
- 2.- Proclaim the right of the peoples of Latin America and of the whole world to carry out the social, economic and political changes they deem necessary.
- 3.- Ratify its support to the principle of total respect to the sovereignty of all States.

- 4.- Proclaim the right of the peoples and governments of Latin America to request the assistance of any other state in the world in case the imperialists intervene in their internal affairs, and the right and duty of all countries to offer moral and material support to the peoples of our continent.

Condemning the so-called Inter-American Peace Force  
and the Governments that Support It

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Considering: That Yankee imperialism landed forty-two thousand -- men in the Dominican Republic to check the revolutionary advance of the people of that country, at the time it was carrying on an armed struggle for democratic liberties.

Considering: That the imperialist forces murdered more than four thousand Dominican men, women, children and elder persons-- who aspired to make true the rights of the people, and that struggled to achieve a patriotic and revolutionary government that would -- raise the banner of the Constitution of 1963.

Considering: That with the aim of disguising and masking the ha-- ted and brutal Yankee intervention in the Dominican Republic, the Organisation of American States (OAS) transformed North American troops and troops of the puppet governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, into their instrument, the so-called Inter-American Peace Force.

Considering: That the so-called Inter-American Peace Force is -- but Yankee military force trampling on Dominican sovereignty which has cost so much blood to these heroic people in the course of -- their historic process, while the OAS tries to conceal all the cri-- mes perpetrated by Yankee imperialism with the participation of -- the Latin-American puppet troops, by labeling as peace its aggre-- sion and counter-revolutionary war.

Considering: That the Inter-American Peace Force represents the -- armed counter-revolution of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, -- and that it is necessary to oppose imperialist violence in the --- strongest and most resolute way, so as to encourage our peoples -- against the leader and main force of the world imperialist system.

Considering: That the abject governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nica-- ragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, that submissively have lent them-- selves to the savage occupation of the Dominican Republic have --- humiliated their own peoples with their anti-national and treache-- rous behaviour, contrary to the great patriotic and revolutionary tradition of Latin America.

DECIDES:

- 1.-To condemn the so-called Inter-American Peace Force, actually a Yankee repressive army disguised as Latin American and that -- forcibly occupies today the territory of the brother people of the Dominican Republic, tearing their sovereignty apart.

- 2..To demand the immediate withdrawal of the Yankee occupation forces, as well as Latin American puppet troops from Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica.
- 3..To condemn the government of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, -- Honduras, and Costa Rica that have lended their troops on -- Dominican soil, against the will of their own peoples, carry ing out the command of Yankee imperialism.

On Inter-American Forces of Peace

The Inter-American Peace Force, recently created by North American Imperialism through the Organisation of American States (OAS), -- constitutes an instrument of terror and aggression used by the -- United States.

Its purpose fundamentally consists of intervening in all countries where, according to the opinion of North American government -- officials, the national liberation movement has made fundamental -- advances in the struggle towards the conquest of power.

It began to operate in the Dominican Republic in April, as a -- consequence of the heroic action of the Dominican people, who -- decided to find a revolutionary solution to the existing -- social and political situation of the country. From that moment, the Inter-American Peace Force has been increasing its military -- strength under the true command of North American Army officers -- and under the fictitious or simulated direction of Latin-American Army officers.

The Inter-American Peace Force was not legally created as a permanent organisation by the Organisation of American States, but the O.A.S. is ready to give it the legal existence which facts have -- already evidenced.

This organism constitutes the organised union of the reactionary -- military officers of Latin America and its creation is, itself, a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of all Latin-American states and of the rights of the peoples to self-determination.

The action of this military unit is an expression of the intentions of imperialism towards the movements for national liberation, which should prepare themselves to face this new element added to the -- complex of circumstances surrounding the actions of liberation.

The Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and -- Latin America condemns the action of the Inter-American Peace -- Force and agrees to offer militant solidarity to the peoples who -- are facing and will face it as a necessary corollary of their -- aspirations of liberty, sovereignty and self-determination.

On Ways and Means to Counteract the North American  
Imperialists in Latin America

- I.- Considering that the Colombian army participates in the training of troops fighting the guerrilla movements in Peru and in Venezuela;
- II.- That the governments of Colombia and Venezuela on the one hand and those of Ecuador and Colombia on the other, are in agreement to carry out the joint repression of the armed struggle taking place in the border territories of these countries;
- III.- That the military forces of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama and some other countries of the Caribbean and the South of the Continent periodically carry out joint military manoeuvres under the command of the United States army, and that this clearly shows their intentions of using armed blackmail to curb the increasing popular struggles in those countries; and that it is, furthermore, a proof that imperialism has a global military strategy in this area;

PROPOSES:

That the revolutionary movements in Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Panama, Ecuador, and in the Caribbean zone and south of the Continent, take as soon as possible the necessary steps to jointly examine this military situation so as to find the means to counteract the effects of this aggressive attitude of imperialism.

In Support of the Cuban Revolution

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America

CONSIDERING: The historic significance of the Cuban Revolution for the development of the movements for national liberation in these three continents.

BEARING IN MIND: That since the revolutionary victory of the Cuban people, an essential turn has taken place in the process of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America, thus the national liberation of this continent has reached a higher stage.

VERIFYING: That the imperialist government of the United States has not ceased in its purposes of crushing the Cuban Revolution by resorting to every means such as the brutal economic blockade, implacable political hostility, continuous infiltration of spies, saboteurs and subversive agents, mercenary invasion, provocations from the Yankee military base arbitrarily located in its territory, acts of vandalism, and by maintaining a real and permanent threat of direct armed attack.

VERIFYING: That the heroic Cuban people have firmly answered imperialist aggression and have maintained themselves on the alert to face and defeat any attack, as they did in Playa Girón, when in just 72 hours they inflicted on North American imperialism its first military defeat in America, and at the same time that they make efforts and succeed on all fronts, have obtained great victories in the field of education, in the extraordinary campaign against illiteracy, in the culture of the people, in public health, and in the field of economy, whose most important achievement was the 1965 sugar harvest.

DECIDES:

To express its full support to the Cuban Revolution, as a significant far-reaching event for the movement for national liberation of the peoples of Latin America and all oppressed peoples of the world.

To strongly CONDEMN the unceasing aggressions that the government of the United States has been carrying on in its vain intentions to destroy the achievements that the Cuban people have won through armed struggle and impelled with their work and efforts.

TO MAKE THEIRS the demands contained in different aspects expressed by Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolution.

1. The ceasing of the economic blockade and all commercial and economic pressures exerted by the United States in all parts of the world against our country.

2. The ceasing of all subversive activities, launchings and landings of arms and explosives by land or air, organization of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, actions that are carried out from the territory of the United States and other accomplice countries.

3. The ceasing of all piratical attacks carried out from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.

4. The ceasing of all the violations of our naval and air space by U.S. planes and warships.

5. Dismantlement of the naval base of Guantánamo and restitution of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States.

TO DEVELOP to a larger extent among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, demonstrations of solidarity and support towards the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, which on the very threshold of the North American Empire carry on the first socialist revolution of America, destroying the dogma of geographic fatalism and showing the possibilities of revolutionary struggle and victory to the people of this continent.

DECLARE: That any aggression of North American imperialists against the revolutionary people of Cuba will meet the retaliation of the sister countries of the three continents.

On the Dominican Republic

CONSIDERING: That the North American military intervention in the Dominican Republic on the 28th of April 1965, occurred precisely in the moment the Dominican people was carrying out a successful insurrection, against the pro-imperialist military forces --- controlled from the North American Embassy by Tapley Bennet and the military Attaches --- which were fighting the popular movement of putting into force the 1963 Constitution and of restoring Juan Bosch --- who had been elected by majority to the presidency. All this clearly showed the reactionary aggressiveness of imperialism, which was already enemy of the forms of government called representative democracy.

CONSIDERING: That the military intervention in the Dominican Republic opens a new cycle of counter-revolutionary interventions in Latin America and threatens the only Latin American country freed from the domination and exploitation of imperialism: Cuba.

CONSIDERING: That the North American military intervention has dragged into complicity the governing oligarchies of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, which have sent troops to coerce the heroic Dominican people that struggles for its freedom and independence.

CONSIDERING: That each day the invading troops of imperialism remain on Dominican soil; more patriots are killed --- the total already exceeds 2,000 --- and the poverty and suffering of the Dominican people increase.

CONSIDERING: That the military occupation of the Dominican Republic, implies immediate and direct control of the Dominican State by imperialism. This seriously changes the political status of the Dominican Republic, degrading it from a dependent semi-colonial country to a government by mandate, violating all principles and rules established in the Constitutional Charters of all International Organizations.

CONSIDERING: That in order to perpetrate this violation to the national sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, imperialism, has organized the counter-revolutionary regional army for Latin America, cynically called Inter-American Peace Force (IPF).

CONSIDERING: That in this crime against the Dominican people and its desires for independence and freedom, the Organization of American States has acted in the same way as it did in its foul condemnation of the revolutionary people of

Cuba, acting as an accomplice to the scourge of the peoples of the world: NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

CONSIDERING: That the United Nations Organization (UN) was a witness: to the crimes committed by the Yankee troops against the civilian population, both at the onset of the landings and on June 15 and 16, 1965; to the genocide committed by the puppet government of Antonio Imbert Barreras; to the trust established by imperialism through the Organization of American States (OAS); all of which are contrary to the declaration of principles of the United Nations Charter. And that the UN has limited itself to the simple and dismal role of reporting what has taken place and to mediation, failing to condemn this brutal aggression and much less the major responsible party, THE IMPERIALIST GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

CONSIDERING: That at the present time, the genocidal military leaders constitute the principal support of imperialism in its plans for indefinite occupation and for the perpetuation of its neo-colonial domination in the Dominican Republic.

CONSIDERING: That the Dominican people have heroically resisted aggression, taking arms against the invaders; that they have not been frightened by the unjust odds of the battle, but on the contrary increase their struggle each day, using all means and all possibilities to put an end to national warfare through the withdrawal of occupying forces from the country and through the full restoration of its national sovereignty and Independence.

CONSIDERING: That in the fight of the Dominican people against the invading imperialist troops, men of different nationalities have fallen: Jack Vieu (Haitian), Andre Rivier (French), and Illo Capossi (Italian) --fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Dominican patriots.

CONSIDERING: That international solidarity is contributing to the fight of the Dominican people against imperialist domination.

RESOLVES: To recognize, in the ferocious military occupation of the Dominican Republic, which violates all principles of self-determination and nonintervention, the signs of fascism and of war as the form of domination proper to the imperialist system in its decadent stage.

To condemn the imperialist government of the United States of America as aggressor and violator of the sovereignty of the Dominican people.

To warn the Latin American peoples, and especially Cuba, of possible imperialist aggressions to block their independent development.

To condemn the oligarchic governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica as accomplices in the brutal aggression that drenches with blood Dominican soil.

To condemn the Organization of American States as the perfect political instrument of North American imperialism for the neocolonial domination of Latin America.

To condemn the WHO for its incapability and hesitation in defending the rights of self-determination and sovereignty of the peoples of the world especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and particularly of the Dominican people in the face of U.S. military aggression against said country.

To condemn the organization of the Inter-American Peace Force because it attacks the sovereignty of the peoples and for being the embodiment in Latin America of international counter-revolution.

To demand the immediate withdrawal from Dominican soil, of all foreign troops, North Americans, Brazilians, Paraguayans, Nicaraguans, Hondurans and Costa Ricans.

To condemn the Dominican military officers that allied with those who stamp on Dominican soil, contributing to foreign domination and to the threat against all Latin American peoples. To call for militant solidarity with the Dominican people, realizing that, besides solidarity and material aid the greatest contribution to the Dominican cause and to that of all peoples who struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism is to widen and deepen the struggle in each country against imperialism.

That April 24-30 this year is designated as "Week of Solidarity --- with the Dominican People"

On Aid to the Revolutionary Struggle of the Peoples of  
Colombia, Venezuela and Peru

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3rd. to 12th., 1966.

WHEREAS:

- 1.- The military forces of the governments of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama and other countries of the Caribbean and the Southern part of the Continent periodically carry out joint military manoeuvres under the direction of the U.S. Army, with the obvious purpose of blackmailing and threatening the national liberation movements and the armed struggle in those countries;
- 2.- The "Gonilla" International, under U.S. command, also intervenes in the training of anti-guerrilla troops which shows the existence of the complete military strategy of U.S. imperialism in these areas of Latin American.
- 3.- That U.S. military missions, with specialized branches of all kinds (land, sea and air detachments, and police) direct and plan operations intended to repress the armed struggle in Colombia, Venezuela and Peru.
- 4.- The resources of the Alliance for Progress are destined to finance the above mentioned military operations, U.S. bombers and fighter planes, piloted by Yankees, attack guerrilla zones, and U.S. helicopters transport troops to combat sites.

BE IT RESOLVED:

- 1.- To lend the most determined assistance to the revolutionary movements in Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Panama, Ecuador and other Caribbean and South American countries, to counteract with the most effective measures the effects of U.S. imperialism's all-out aggressive policy.
- 2.- To denounce before all countries of the three continents, Yankee intervention in the armed struggles of Colombia, Venezuela and Peru, and to promote the militant solidarity of the combatants in those countries among themselves and with the peoples of the three continents, in the great struggle for national liberation.

On Venezuela

In the main address of the Venezuelan Delegation in the General Assembly of the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we affirmed that after the practical-application of the "Johnson Doctrine", the peoples of Latin America should carry out national liberation struggles on the basis of other realities and with a spirit which permits the solution to all continental problems.

The United States of North America have created a global tactic to counter the liberation struggles of our peoples with armed violence. Today Yankee imperialism will not allow any of the traditional demonstration of dignity and sovereignty (as timid as they may be) unless they are completely identified with the interests of finance capital and the oligarchic accomplices that serve them. Bourgeois legality, as the representative democracies of Latin America understand it, is not enough to perpetuate the regime of exploitation and misery, of the "Free Associated State and Neo-Colonialism" as the governments that best respond to maintenance of the typical structures of underdevelopment. Yankee imperialism has definitely proclaimed that it understands no other way than that of force. Our own experience is recent, and even more recent is the genocide perpetrated by North American imperialism against the brother people of the Dominican Republic. Latin America must turn its eyes on the Dominican Republic. Not to be frightened but to discover the global strategy of our enemy, learn this lesson and plan a strategy that will allow us to defeat it once and for all. This strategy can be none other than a simultaneous war. By simultaneous war, we understand, not the application of a general outline because Latin America reality is not unique and indivisible. On the contrary, even in areas of one country, realities change and vary. It is necessary that each of the peoples of Latin America face the problem of political power and create the conditions for armed struggle. Venezuela has chosen the armed struggle as the best means for armed struggle against imperialism. The enemy has taught us that political power cannot be won without overthrowing the state organization created by imperialism, without annihilating the repressive army, without annihilating the colonial or semi-colonial ruling super structure. Without the above we cannot think of annihilating imperialism and its lackeys. The reactionary army must be substituted by a revolutionary army to guarantee the implementation of plans that satisfy the people's aspirations.

That is why we Venezuelans have chosen armed struggle, without discarding other means of struggle. We combined armed and unarmed methods, legal and illegal, mass and commando methods. We consider that what is important is not the struggle itself, but the annihilation of imperialism and the taking of political power in order to put into practice a revolutionary and mass programme.

We ask for militant solidarity which we also give. Today the Venezuela struggle has reached a point of development which permits us to respond to our revolutionary duties which have always been defined by the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Venezuela today needs the support of the peoples of the world in order to develop their liberation struggle.

Imperialism unblushingly aids its lackeys. We consider that the peoples who struggle for their liberation also must unblushingly aid revolutionary movements, such as ours, which guarantee the defeat of imperialism. We ask:

- 1.- That all countries recognise the Venezuelan National Liberation Front as the Organisation that leads the armed struggle -- against North American imperialism and the national oligarchies in our country.
- 2.- To form an Organisation to coordinate the Latin American struggle.
- 3.- Solidarity of all the peoples of the world with the struggle that the Latin American peoples are waging to obtain political power.

Within the framework of the Tri-Continental Organisation to -- create a special fund to aid the people who are carrying out revolutionary struggle in Latin America, specially Venezuela.

- 4.- Use all possible means to liquidate the yankee blockade against Cuba.

On Guatemala

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, after reviewing the prevailing situation in the Republic of Guatemala; confirming the determination of the people of Guatemala to achieve the total liberation of their country from Yankee imperialist domination, and recognizing the revolutionary war fought by the Guatemalans under the flag of the rebel armed forces.

Expresses its full solidarity with the people of Guatemala and its armed fight and supports their conviction that they can only accomplish their genuine and true aspirations of freedom and independence, when Yankee imperialism and the puppets from the native oligarchy that serve them have been defeated and definitely expelled from the country;

Condemns the repression unleashed by the ruling clique against all sectors of the Guatemalan peoples, especially the crimes perpetrated against the peasants, in its useless efforts to curb the revolutionary drive.

Demands the freedom of all political prisoners, who are deprived of liberty for no other reason than having fought for the freedom and independence of their country; and also, the ending of the tortures and abuses applied by the military dictatorship.

Denounces the connivance of Yankee imperialism and the ruling oligarchies of the neighbouring Central American countries, that under the so-called Central American Defence Council maintain a joint army, meant to oppress the peoples throughout the entire isthmus, and especially to intervene, as it has already done against the people's guerrilla forces which are forming in Guatemala.

It denounces the electoral manoeuvres plotted by the ruling clique led, at the moment, by the tyrant Peralta Azurdia, directed at giving a spurious constitutional backing to this unpopular repressive regime, with which it seeks to confuse certain sectors and denaturalize the popular efforts to support for the revolutionary war.

Expresses the will of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to support the Guatemalan people in their struggle, and calls for the granting of all possible aid which will permit them to accelerate the development of the revolutionary war until the achievement of total victory; defeating the lackeys of imperialism, freeing themselves from oppression and thus contributing to the liberation of Latin America.

On Colombia

Considering:

- a) That North American military mission with branches in all arms (infantry, navy, air force and police) directs and plans repressive operations.
- b) That these military operations are financed with money from the "Alliance for Progress". For example, the military aggression to Marquetalia, was financed with a yankee credit of 30 million dollars.
- c) That guerrilla areas are attacked by yankee bombers and fighter planes, piloted by North Americans.
- d) That North American planes have dropped bacterial bombs.
- e) That North American helicopters carry troops to the combat scene.  
All these equipment have been supplied to the Colombian army by the North American government as a loan.

In view of the above,

We approve:

That the Conference adopt the measures to:

- 1st.- Denounce in all countries the Yankee intervention in Colombia's armed struggles.
- 2nd.- Promote the solidarity with Colombian fighters in its various aspects.

On Peru

The Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

Considering that Peru is an economically backward country, as a result of the existing semi-feudal relations of production and the deforming action of its economic structure carried out by Yankee imperialism which has taken over the main natural resources of the country and controls its foreign trade. All this, naturally, obstructs the independent economic development of the country;

Considering that the above mentioned semi-feudal conditions and the dependency upon Yankee imperialism which Peru is suffering and which maintain the country as merely a raw material producer, maintains the Peruvian people, especially the peasants, in the worst possible conditions of poverty, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and indescribable super-exploitation;

Considering that the poverty and hunger in which the Peruvian people find themselves could only disappear with the change of the unfair economic structures of the country and the ousting of imperialism;

Considering that for decades an attempt was made to carry out this change by peaceful means without results, due to the strong opposition of the exploiting and imperialist sectors who have always replied with violence to the just aspirations of the Peruvian people;

Considering that the present government of Fernando Belaunde Terry, due to the class interests it represents, has been unable to solve the fundamental problems of the country, despite of having committed himself to do so with demagogic electoral promises;

Considering that in view of the violence that the Belaunde government let loose to crush the fights of the different exploited sectors of the country for their legitimate reivindications, the people have arrived to the conclusion that there is no other way out than to respond in the same form, i.e., with organized revolutionary violence;

Considering that the Peruvian people has begun the guerrilla armed struggle to achieve its total liberation

Decides:

To support resolutely and in all forms the armed struggle undertaken in Peru, the way bravely chosen by the Peruvian people to achieve its definite and total economic and political independence.

On Peru

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

Considering that as a response to the start of the armed struggle in Peru which aims at total liberation of the people in this country, the government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry has launched a brutal repression against the popular forces, specially the peasants, including mass executions of peasants in the rural zones where the guerrillas operate, indiscriminately bombing with napalm the inhabitants of the villages in these regions; jailing the leaders and militants of the left-wing political organisations of students and the workers, most of which have been submitted to incredible tortures in the best tradition of the dark ages of nazi-fascism and jailing the wives of the leaders of the guerrillas;

Considering that in order to frighten people so that they will not give support to the guerrillas, the puppet and pro-Yankee government of Belaúnde has passed the Death Penalty Law for those who fight in the guerrillas or give their direct or indirect support to them;

Considering that the Peruvian Parliament, integrated by the representatives of the most backward and darkest reactionary forces, has created investigating committees for the "subversive activities", unleashing a most hysterical maccarthist persecution against all progressive organisations and personalities of the country;

Decides:

To demand from the dictatorial and pro-Yankee government of Belaúnde Terry to put an end to the executions of peasants and guerrilla fighters, the cessation of napalm air raids and of the cruel methods of torturing prisoners, the immediate release of political, labor, and student prisoners and of the wives of the leaders of the guerrillas;

To demand the abrogation of the Death Penalty Law and the dissolution of the maccarthist committees created by the Peruvian Parliament,

To denounce before world public opinion the brutal trampling of human rights carried out by the unpopular government of Belaúnde Terry.

On Brazil

The question of neo-colonialism takes on new characteristics with the military coup in Brazil on April 1, 1964.

This coup, inspired, financed and prepared by North American imperialism, is clearly aimed at preventing the economic liberation of the country from the neo-colonialist forms of exploitation, -- and seeks the complete economic and political submission of Brazil by means of an economic and financial policy which will paralyse and set back the industrial development of Brazil, in order to -- maintain the country as a supplier of raw materials with an agricultural economic base.

We propose to include in the draft resolution the condemnation -- of this new blow of North American imperialism that not only -- maintains but aggravates neo-colonialist exploitation in Latin -- America.

On Paraguay

Whereas:

- 1.- The tyrannical military-civil antinational regime that has been imposed upon the Paraguayan people for the benefit of North American imperialism.
- 2.- This tyranny represses by all means of violence the longing for freedom of the Paraguayan people.
- 3.- Murders motivated by politics, tortures inflicted by the police, violation, jailing, subjection to forced labor in concentration camps, maintain all the people of Paraguay in permanent terror.
- 4.- Thousands of patriots have been and continue to be victims of these outrages and crimes of Stroessner's tyranny.
- 5.- The Paraguayan people maintain a firm resistance and struggle to overcome the tyranny, to vanquish Yankee imperialism, and to recuperate in full their sovereignty and self-determination.

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Appealing to people's sentiment of solidarity and the righteous will of more than one thousand million people, represented by the popular and national delegations of this Wricontinental Conference; condemns the imposed tyranny in Paraguay, and demands the immediate liberty of hundreds of Paraguayan patriots, imprisoned for political and trade union causes. In name of the following prisoners of the tyranny we send fraternal and solidarity greetings to the combatants of the country of Paraguay:

GILBERTA VERDUN DE TALAVERA  
ANTONIO MAIDANA  
JOSE TOMAS NUÑEZ  
VICENTE MAIDANA ARIAS  
DERLIZ VILJAGRA  
JULIO ROJAS  
SALUSTIANO CABRERA  
AURELIO PAUL CENTURION  
NAPOLEON ORTIGOZA  
EMILIO BARRETO  
RAMON CHAMORRO RIVEROS  
GRACIELA GALEANO  
ALFREDO ALCORTA  
DR. LIVIERES BANKS ACOSTA  
SERESITA ASILVERA DE PATIÑO

On Paraguay

WHEREAS:

The people of Paraguay are subjected by a tyranny which has suppressed by violence and terror all democratic liberties and the most elemental human rights;

That regime is the utmost expression of the interests - of the large landholders, the oligarchy and North American imperialism which impede the progressive development of Paraguay;

The peasants, workers, students and sectors of the middle class, of the national industry and commerce are victims - of political persecution and economic and social exploitation of the most degrading form;

The intervention of Yankee imperialism in the financial, economical, social, cultural and military politics of Paraguay in its internal and international policies, alienates the popular and national sovereignty of the people of Paraguay;

Paraguay has been occupied by Yankee imperialism, not only in order to exploit and oppress the people, but also to make use of its territory as a strategic base for counter-revolutionary action on continental dimensions, taking into account its exceptional geographic situation, its great petroleum reserves and its potential sources of hydroelectric energy;

The dictatorship and Yankee imperialism have converted Paraguay into a great prison of persecuted, tortured or assassinated patriots;

In the prisons, police stations and concentration camps of Paraguay there are to be found hundreds of political and trade union prisoners of all sectors under inhuman conditions;

The Paraguayan people struggle not only to recuperate - their political and economic rights, but also to overthrow imperialism and the dictatorship which oppress them, in order - to establish a democratic regime with full sovereignty and independence;

THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA,  
ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA  
R E S O L V E S:

- 1) To forcefully condemn the anti-national military regime which exists today in Paraguay;
- 2) To denounce and condemn the aggressive, interventionist and counter-revolutionary plans of North American imperialism in Paraguay;
- 3) To express the most complete solidarity of the First Tricontinental Conference with the struggles of the Paraguayan people for their liberty, sovereignty and independence and to extend this solidarity to the hundreds of political and trade union prisoners of all sectors, whose immediate liberty it demands.

On Haiti

The Tri-Continental Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin American emphatically condemns the acts of terrorism perpetrated by the government of M. Duvalier against Haitian workers and patriots.

The Conference has heard with horror the revelation of the odious crimes committed by the Duvalier Government against the patriots in Haiti.

It expresses its desire that the practice of detentions, tortures and the massacre of entire families on account of the political ideas of any member of a Haitian family cease.

The Conference demands that, from now on, justice be met to Haitian prisoners and denounces the assassinations regularly perpetrated against political prisoners in Haiti.

It demands that the International Commission of Human Rights take into account the constant violations of civil liberties in Haiti, the absolute rejection of the basic human rights of the Haitian people by the present government of that country, and that the whole world be informed of the results of the investigation.

The Conference shall do everything possible to inform international public opinion of the desperate situation in which the Haitian people find themselves, and promises to denounce, on each occasion, the atrocities committed by the dictatorship of Duvalier, a faithful lackey of Yankee imperialism.

The Conference gives its firm support to the revolutionary anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist struggle of the Haitian patriots fighting to reconquer democracy and economic independence.

On Political Prisoners in British Guiana

This Tri-Continental Conference condemns the emergency government of British Guiana and the acts of imprisonment without previous trial; and urges Great Britain and the Government of British Guiana to put an end to the state of emergency, and uphold the democratic rights and liberties established in the Constitution of British Guiana.

On Guadeloupe

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held in Havana, from the 3rd. to the 15th. of January, 1966

- CONSIDERING: that Guadeloupe is kept in a state of dependency by French imperialism.
- CONSIDERING: the existence of a colonial situation characterized by violence and economic, political, social and cultural oppression.
- CONSIDERING: the existence of a machinery of oppression and repressions, as well as the spoliation suffered by the people of Guadeloupe.
- CONSIDERING: the denial of fundamental liberties and the threats constantly imposed on personalities and the principal revolutionaries of Guadeloupe.
- CONSIDERING: that the Guadeloupe issue is not an internal affair of France.
- CONSIDERING: the process of second colonisation resulting from the French "Law of Departamentalization" of March 19, 1946.
- CONSIDERING: the risks that the existence of colonialist and neo-colonialist bases in the area pose to the countries in the Caribbean and Latin America.
- CONDEMNNS: the colonialist policy of the French government in Guadeloupe, particularly the expatriation of the youth.
- AFFIRMS: the right of Guadeloupe to national independence.
- PLEDGES: its unconditional support to the organisations that struggle for the total liberation of the country in accordance with the objectives of the Conference.
- STRONGLY RECOMMENDS: to all brother countries to state before international organisations the problem of Guadeloupe. Pledges itself to give all necessary aid to the revolutionaries of Guadeloupe for the complete and definitive decolonisation of their country.

On the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty 1/

The participants in the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, meeting in Havana;

**DENOUNCE** the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, imposed by the United States on Nicaragua, in 1914, for the purpose of building a canal in its territory, which damages the country's sovereignty and has been militantly rejected by the progressive forces of Nicaragua.

1. Translated from the Spanish version published in Cuba Socialista

On Martinique and French Guiana. 1/

The Tricontinental Conference of the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America firmly denounces the colonial system imposed by the French Government in the last remaining territories of its old empire: Martinique, Guiana, and Réunion, as well as the policy of repression perpetrated in these countries.

The Conference denounces the lie of the French Government in trying to make world public opinion, and particularly public opinion in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, believe that it has completed decolonization of the countries under its dominion, and that Martinique, Guiana, and Réunion are "overseas states."

The Conference affirms that the problem today in these so-called "overseas states" is essentially a political problem: that of the decolonization of these countries.

The Conference supports without reservation the united struggle of the anticolonialist forces of Martinique, Guiana, and Réunion, which today demand that the status quo be replaced by a status of AUTONOMY, recognizing the right of these countries to deal with their own affairs.

Finally, the Tricontinental Conference denounces the serious threat, not only to Guiana, but to the entire Latin American area, represented by the installation of a military base for rocket launching.

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1. Translated from the Spanish version published in Cuba Socialista.

LIST COPIED FROM THE INDEX TO THE ENGLISH COMPILATION OF RESOLUTIONS PREPARED BY THE CONFERENCE, GROUPED BY COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR PREPARATION. THE COMPENDIUM WAS APPARENTLY PREPARED JANUARY 12, 1966, EVEN THOUGH THE CONFERENCE CONTINUED UNTIL JANUARY 15

- I. POLITICAL REPORT: ANTECEDENTS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE MOVEMENT OF SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA
- II. GENERAL DECLARATION
- III. POLITICAL COMMITTEE
  1. General Political Resolution
  2. General Resolutions
    - a) Resolution in Support of the Cuban Revolution
    - b) Resolution Condemning the so-called Inter-American Peace Force and the Governments that support it
    - c) Resolution on Inter-American Forces of Peace
    - d) Resolution on the OAS
    - e) Resolution Condemning Resolution Adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States
    - f) General Resolution on West Germany Imperialism
    - g) Resolution on the Use of Gurkhas by British Imperialists and other countries
    - h) Resolution on Military Pacts and Foreign Military Bases
    - i) Resolution on Military Bases in Foreign Countries
    - j) Resolution on Military Bases in the Indian Ocean
    - k) Resolution Concerning Peaceful Coexistence
    - l) International Week of Solidarity
    - m) General Resolution on Mahdi Ben Barka
    - n) Message to the Working Class and to the Popular Movements of Europe and North America

- o) Message of Salutation and Stimulus to the People of the United States
- p) Resolution on Aid to the Revolutionary Struggle of the Peoples of Colombia, Venezuela and Peru against the "Gorilla" International Headed by the Pentagon
- q) Resolution on the Rights of Afro-Americans in the United States

3. Specific Resolutions

- a) Resolution on Arab Peninsula
- b) Resolution on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland
- c) Resolution Concerning Political Prisoners in British Guiana
- d) Resolution on the Fight for the Liberation of the Congo  
(L)1
- e) Resolution on Haiti
- f) Resolution on Protest the Supression of Democrats in Indonesia
- g) Resolution in Support of the Struggle of the Japanese People
- h) Resolution on Niger
- i) The Moroccan Resolution
- j) Resolution on Paraguay
- k) Resolution on the Political Situation of Paraguay
- l) Resolution on French Somaliland
- m) Resolution on South West Africa

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1. Not included among the resolutions published in Cuba Socialista, possibly because it was considered unnecessary since there is another resolution on Congo-Leopoldville, No. III.4.c).

- n) Denounce on Conspiracy of the Imperialists in Sudan
- o) Resolution on Thailand
- p) Resolution on Venezuela

4. Burning Issues (Subcommittee)

- a) Resolution on Angola
- b) Resolution on Cambodia
- c) Resolution on Congo-Leopoldville
- d) Resolution on Korea
- e) Resolution on Cyprus
- f) Resolution on the Dominican Republic
- g) Resolution on Guatemala
- h) Resolution on Laos
- i) Resolution on Mozambique
- j) Resolution on Palestine
- k) Resolution on Peru
- l) Resolution on Peru
- m) Resolution on the so-called Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands
- n) Resolution on the Countries under Portuguese Colonial Domination
- o) Resolution on the Islands of Sao Tome and Principe
- p) Resolution on South Africa
- q) Resolution on the Occupied South Yemen
- r) Resolution on Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia)

5. Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism (Subcommittee)
  - a) General Resolution of the Political Committee on Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism
  - b) Resolution on Guadeloupe
  - c) Resolution on Brazil
6. Viet-Nam (Subcommittee)
  - a) Resolution on Viet-Nam
  - b) General Resolution on the Creation of the Tri-Continental Committee for the support of the Vietnamese People in its struggle against the Aggression of Yankee Imperialism
  - c) Resolution Concerning the Creation of an International Fund of Aid to Viet-Nam

#### IV. ORGANISATION COMMITTEE

1. Report of the Chair of the Organisation Committee to the Chair of the Conference

#### V. ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

1. General Resolution

#### VI. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE

1. General Resolution
2. Resolution on Imperialist Cultural and Ideological penetration.
3. Resolution on Social Security
4. Resolution on Public Health
5. Resolution on the Cultural and Scientific Heritage of Mankind
6. Resolution on the Cultural Revolution in Countries Liberated from the Imperialist Yoke
7. Resolution on the Scientific and Technical Revolution

8. Resolution on Physical Education, Athletics and Recreation
9. Resolution on the Formation of National Cadres

NOTE: This list does not include four resolutions published in Cuba Socialista, possibly because they may have been adopted after the publication of the compendium:

1. Resolution on Ways and Means to counteract the North American imperialists in Latin America
2. Resolution on Colombia
3. Resolution on the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty
4. Resolution on Martinique and French Guiana

II. COMMUNIQUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN  
SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION, JANUARY 16, 1966

COMMUNIQUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LATIN  
AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (LASO)<sup>1/</sup>

The 27 Latin American delegations that participated in the Tricontinental Conference agreed to establish the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). By unanimous approval of the representatives of the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements of the hemisphere, the headquarters of the new hemisphere organization will be in Havana. It was also decided to hold the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference in 1967, under the sponsorship of the organization, and, to this end, the organizing committee appointed will begin its work immediately.

The meeting, which culminated with the establishment of the Organization, was presided over by Commander Pedro Medina Silva, Member of the National Liberation Front of Venezuela and Vice President for Latin America of the Tricontinental Conference, and was attended by Prime Minister Fidel Castro, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Cuba, and the members of the party Political Bureau: Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, President of Cuba; Major Raul Castro, Vice Prime Minister and Minister of the Armed Forces; Dr. Armando Hart; Major Juan Almeida, Vice Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces; Majors Sergio del Valle and Guillermo García; Captain Osmany Cienfuegos, Secretary General of the Tricontinental Conference and Chief of the Cuban delegation to the conference; Dr. Raúl Roa, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Tricontinental Conference.

At this meeting, the Latin America delegates, working within the framework outlined by the conference when it established the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization and inspired by the same fighting spirit and desire to be of mutual assistance that had prevailed during the conference discussions, reviewed the problems of organization and, in general, of revolutionary tactics and strategy that made advisable the establishment of the hemisphere organization, which would unite, coordinate, and give impetus to the struggle against United States imperialism.

As a result of the study made by the delegations, it was decided to establish the hemispheric organization as a necessity in view of the present conditions of the struggle in Latin America and the aggressive conduct of imperialism and of the duty to extend active and well-knit solidarity to the liberation movements of the other two continents.

The meeting of Latin American delegates appointed an Organizing Committee, composed of Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, British Guiana, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, whose function will be to orient the work of

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1. Translated from Cuba Socialista.

the new organization, in cooperation with national committees in each country, which will represent the anti-imperialist groups that are most active and have the most deep and extensive popular roots. An additional function of the Organizing Committee will be to organize the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, which will be held next year, and which will be a great historic event in the long road our people have followed in their struggle for independence.

In establishing the new organization, the Latin American delegates to the Tricontinental Conference have taken a decisive step toward integrating the movement for liberation in the hemisphere and toward its future progress, as well as in achieving unity in each of the countries. They know that they have assumed a great responsibility to their people and to the world, because this new organization, in which a broad representation of revolutionary elements of all our countries is meeting for the first time, will be the first line trench in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism in Latin America.

The Latin American Solidarity Organization will use all means within its reach to support the liberation movements; it will give firm support to the liberated countries of the three continents that may be the object of imperialist aggression, and it will cooperate with them to ensure their independent development. It will link its action and that of the participating organizations to the activities of the Tricontinental Organization; it will wage a constant campaign against Yankee imperialism's increasing policy of aggression and its false, cynical, and hypocritical propaganda, designed to mask its acts of vandalism in the hemisphere.

Both the Organizing Committee and the national committees, in order to ensure the widest, most equitable representation of the revolutionary forces of each country, will immediately establish a method to consider new members that may be proposed to the Organization. The Organizing Committee and the national committees will work without interruption in this respect, until the meeting in 1967 of the First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference.

The agreement was adopted by the national committees of the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guiana-Cayenne, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Havana, January 16, 1966

THE YEAR OF SOLIDARITY

III. DOCUMENTATION RELATED TO CHAPTER III,  
SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE OAS AT THE  
MEETING HELD ON THE AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 2, 1966

WHEREAS:

The Ambassador, Representative of Peru, in the note of January 19, 1966, addressed to the Vice Chairman of the Council, in his capacity as Acting Chairman requested on behalf of his government

. . . the convocation of a special meeting of the Council of the Organization, to formulate a denunciation on violation of the principle of nonintervention, set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and ratified by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its Resolution 2131 (XX), adopted at the session held last December 21;

The aforementioned convocation was seconded by the Ambassadors, Representative of Colombia and Venezuela, in notes dated January 23 and 24, respectively;

At this special meeting, the Council heard statements by the Representatives of Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, the United States, Costa Rica, Haiti, El Salvador, Ecuador, Argentina, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, Paraguay, Guatemala, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile, who expressed unanimous support of the denunciation by the Government of Peru;

In the city of Havana, during the first half of this past January, and under the official sponsorship of the Government of Cuba, a so-called conference of solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America was held, with the participation of delegates from the Soviet Union, Communist China, Cuba, and other states, as well as communist parties and groups from other countries, the final resolutions of which proclaimed a pledge by the participants to give financial, political, and military aid to communist subversive movements in this hemisphere, the same as in other parts of the world;

This policy of intervention and aggression in the Western Hemisphere by some of the communist states constitutes a violation of the principle of nonintervention by one state in the internal and external affairs of another and of the self-determination of peoples, which were the object of Resolution 2131 (XX) adopted December 21, 1965, by the General Assembly of the United Nations, principles laid down in the Charter of the Organization of American States;

As a result of the so-called conference of solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, a permanent committee of twelve members was established in Havana consisting of representatives of communist countries and groups of those three continents, as well as a special organization for the promotion of subversion and civil war in Latin America;

This policy of intervention and aggression endangers the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere; and

The Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in 1962, in paragraph 1 of Resolution II requested the Council of the Organization of American States

. . .to maintain all necessary vigilance, for the purpose of warning against any acts of aggression, subversion, or other danger to peace and security, or the preparation of such acts, resulting from the continued intervention of Sino-Soviet powers in this hemisphere, and to make recommendations to the governments of the member states with regard thereto,

THE COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To condemn emphatically the policy of intervention and aggression of the communist states and other participating countries and groups, manifested in the discussions and decisions of the so-called conference of solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, held in Havana during the first two weeks of January.
2. To denounce especially, as an act contrary to the peace and security of the hemisphere and in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of Resolution 2131 (XX), of December 21, 1965, the open participation at the aforesaid Havana Conference of official or officially sponsored delegations of member states of the United Nations that also voted in favor of the aforementioned resolution.
3. To declare, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and Resolution 2131 (XX), of December 21, 1965, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, and also in conformity with the Charter of the Organization of American States and resolutions of the Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, that a state is responsible not only for the open use of force against another but also for giving support to any of the indirect forms of aggression, such as the promotion of civil strife in another state, or the organization of armed bands and the furnishing of war material or elements of combat and of money with offensive intentions against another.

4. To proclaim the American states' reiterated adherence to the principles of nonintervention and self-determination of peoples set forth in the Charter of the Organization and in Resolution 2131 (XX), of December 21, 1965, of the United Nations General Assembly.

5. To call upon the "Special Committee to Study Resolutions I.1 and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs" to make an urgent study and investigation of the deliberations, conclusions, and projections of the so-called conference of solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, held in Havana, and to submit a report to the Council of the Organization along with such recommendations as it deems pertinent.

6. To request the Secretary General of the Organization of American States to transmit this resolution to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with a request that he distribute it among the member states.



UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

S/7123  
8 February 1966  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/SPANISH

LETTER DATED 7 FEBRUARY 1966 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHILE, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, ECUADOR, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HAITI, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, PARAGUAY, PERU, URUGUAY AND VENEZUELA

- The undersigned, Permanent Representatives of the Latin American States, have the honour to write to Your Excellency to refer to events which reveal a flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, as well as of the Declaration contained in resolution 2131 (XX) of the General Assembly, approved by a favourable vote of 109 Member States.
2. As is publicly known, on 3 January last, there met in the city of Havana the so-called First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, known also as the Tricontinental Conference, in which there participated, together with the Communist parties of numerous countries, outstanding persons in the Governments of States Members of the United Nations.
  3. Not only has the attention of our Governments been called to the holding of such a conference, the objective of which was to stimulate and promote the violent change of governments and fundamental political institutions in different countries, striking against the sovereignty and the political stability of States Members of the United Nations, but also to the fact that it had the support of several Governments, especially that of the Conference's host Government.
  4. The proclamation adopted by the Conference on the use of force as one of the principal means for attaining its objectives, and the establishment of a permanent machinery to this end, struck at the fundamental principles of International Law as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the above-mentioned Declaration of the General Assembly on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty. The said machinery includes an Executive Secretariat with provisional headquarters in Havana, a Committee of Assistance for the Movements of National

S/7123  
English

Liberation, and periodic Conferences, the next site of which will be the capital of another State Member of the United Nations.

5. No less a threat to those principles is the mention in the General Declaration approved by the Conference of "the right and the duty of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the States and Progressive Governments of the world to make available material and moral support for those peoples who fight for their liberty or who suffer direct or indirect aggression by imperialist powers". To the same ends there was no lack of recommendations on methods of infiltration nor on the exchange of experience in subversion to achieve greater efficacy in the processes of the imposition by violence of different political regimes.

6. In registering the first deliberate violation of the Declaration contained in resolution 2131 (XX) of the General Assembly, operative paragraph 2 of which states:

"... Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State",

the undersigned representatives deem it their duty to bring to the attention of Your Excellency and of the other members of the Security Council these facts and the consequences entailed by them for peace and international security.

7. This matter has been considered by the Council of the Organization of American States, in accordance with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the same Organization of American States.

8. The undersigned request Your Excellency to be so kind as to have this letter circulated as an official document of the Security Council and avail themselves etc.

José María RUDA (Argentina)

Fernando ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia)

José SETTE CAMARA (Brazil)

Javier ILLANES (Chile)

Alfonso PATIÑO (Colombia)

Emilia de BARISH (Costa Rica)

José Ramón RODRIGUEZ (Dominican Republic)

Hugo JATIVA (Ecuador)

Héctor ESCOBAR SERRANO (EL Salvador)

Humberto VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala)

Carlet R. AUGUSTE (Haiti)

For Humberto LOPEZ VAILAMIL:

Luz BERTRAND de FROMLEY (Honduras)

Luis MENA SOLORZANO (Nicaragua)

Aquilino BOYD (Panama)

Miguel SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay)

Carlos MACKEHENIE (Peru)

Mateo MARQUES-SERE (Uruguay)

Tulio ALVARADO (Venezuela)

UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL

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APPENDIX III.3

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11 February 1966  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

LETTER DATED 10 FEBRUARY 1966 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF CUBA  
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you the following letter from the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Mr. Fidel Castro Ruz.

"Havana, 10 February 1966

"U Thant  
Secretary-General of the United Nations

"Sir,

"I am addressing you in order to give the reply it deserves to the letter sent to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of the Latin American Governments which, with the exception of Mexico, at the instigation of the interventionist and imperialist Government of the United States, 'denounced' before that body the decisions reached at the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which was held at Havana from 3 to 12 January 1966. At the same time I request you to have this reply circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

"It is incredible that these Governments should be so cynical as to accuse Cuba and the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America of interventionism, because the Governments, in whose name the letter was signed, are precisely the most servile henchmen of Yankee imperialism in Latin America. Most of them unhesitatingly supported the criminal intervention of Yankee troops in the territory of the Dominican Republic and only a few of them, as an exception, voiced a mild and hypocritical protest. With the cowardly and shameful complicity of the same Governments, the Yankee military occupation of this country and the oppression of this brother people of Latin America are continuing; almost every day the invading troops fire on the population and murder defenceless men and women. Some of these Governments, for example Brazil, Honduras and Costa Rica, are participating directly in the military occupation. It is the height of cynicism that Mr. García-Godoy, that base and unpatriotic puppet, should sign this declaration and, what is more, do so in the name of a country which is occupied and oppressed by Yankee troops and other mercenary foreign soldiers.

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English

"Actually all these Governments are accessories to the subordination, domination and exploitation of their own countries by United States imperialism, which is in control of their armed forces, banks and trade - in short, the economy of each and every one of them. Yankee imperialism dictates their foreign policy and brazenly reserves the right of military occupation, as in the Dominican Republic, whenever it considers this necessary for its purposes of exploitation.

"In collusion with Governments representing the same interests, the United States has carried out its open policy of intervention on this continent.

"Thus, in 1954, it used mercenary forces from bases set up in neighbouring countries to overthrow the constitutional and lawful Government of Guatemala, in order to subject that country once again to the most iniquitous exploitation; in 1961, it organized, financed and directed, with the participation of the Governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua, the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón; in 1964, it engineered the massacre of the Panamanian people who were claiming sovereignty over the Canal area; and in 1965, in defiance of world protests and indignation, it invaded and occupied the territory of the Dominican Republic.

"The Latin American peoples' awareness of their militant solidarity has grown, developed and deepened in the struggles against Yankee imperialist interventions, against the Yankee occupation and colonization of Puerto Rico, against the Yankee seizure of a part of the territory of Panama in 1903, against the second Yankee intervention in Cuba in 1906, against the Yankee intervention in Mexico in 1914 and 1917, against the Yankee intervention in Haiti in 1915, against the Yankee intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1915, against the Yankee intervention in Nicaragua in 1910 and 1925 and against the previously mentioned Yankee aggressions in Guatemala and Cuba. This feeling of solidarity is gathering extraordinary strength in view of the military occupation of the Dominican Republic and the threat that intervention may be carried out in any of the nations of Latin America.

"This threat was clearly expressed in the recent decision of the House of Representatives of the United States which had the impudence to declare that the Government of that country would have to intervene, whenever it considered it advisable, in any territory of this continent.

"The Yankee imperialists have pursued their interventionist policy not only in Latin America, but also in Africa, Asia and the rest of the world.

"The Yankee intervention in the Congo, carried out under the flag of the United Nations, is a good example of this.

"The present Yankee intervention against the people of South Viet-Nam and the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam show how the Pentagon circles and United States monopolies carry their interventionist policy to every corner of the earth and threaten the peace of the world.

"The so-called Governments of Latin American countries, which, alleging that the decisions of the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute a threat to peace, signed this letter to the President of the Security Council, are turning a deaf ear and a blind eye to the monstrous reality of what imperialism is doing in the world today.

"The peoples of the Latin American countries, whom these Governments claim to represent, are being mercilessly plundered by United States monopolies.

"These people have a right to sweep out, and sooner or later will sweep out, these Governments which have betrayed them and are serving foreign interests in their own countries. They will do so by the most violent revolutionary action, because the imperialist exploitation and oppression of these peoples are steadily increasing with the use of force, violence and weapons and they are left with no other possible alternative.

"To proclaim the right of these peoples who are oppressed and exploited by the imperialists with the complicity, in each country, of the reactionary classes - the privileged and completely minority interests which these Governments represent - is not an act of intervention. It is precisely a struggle against intervention.

"The support of independence must not be confused with intervention.

"The revolutionary representatives of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who met at Havana did indeed decide to intensify the struggle against intervention and to assist the peoples fighting for liberty and independence. In addition, they emphasized the duty of States and progressive Governments to support peoples who are struggling against interventionist and aggressive imperialism.

"There are well-known historical and political precedents for the assistance which is being offered to the peoples fighting for independence.

"No one would think of accusing the French revolutionaries, who in the eighteenth century helped the people of North America to gain their independence from British colonial rule, of having been interventionists. The peoples of France, the United States and the entire world recognized the undeniable merit of what those brave men did in fighting on American soil to win independence for the thirteen colonies.

"The militant, revolutionary solidarity of the peoples of Latin America assumed a very active form at the time of the struggle for liberation carried on by Bolívar, San Martín and Sucre. The peoples of Latin America gratefully remember that solidarity. No one would think of describing the Latin American liberation movement of the last century as an act of intervention.

"In 1826, Simón Bolívar summoned the peoples of the Americas to the Panama Conference to discuss the most appropriate means of completing the liberation of the continent from Spanish colonial oppression.

"By the standards of Yankee imperialism and of the wretched lackeys who signed the aforementioned letter, that Conference could be regarded as violating the sovereignty of peoples and as frankly interventionist.

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"Let imperialist aggression, oppression and intervention cease. Let the United States leave Dominican territory; let it withdraw its troops from South-East Asia and Viet-Nam; let it put a halt to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; let it turn over to the Panamanian people the territory wrongfully taken from it in the Canal Zone; let it stop exploiting the impoverished peoples of the Americas and other parts of the world; let it return the territory occupied by its foreign military bases, including Guantánamo; let it stop its conspiracy in Asia, Africa and Latin America; in short, let the system of imperialist rule come to an end. That is what is demanded by the peoples and by those who legitimately represent their interests.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba fully adheres to the decisions adopted by the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"We are well aware that the hidden purpose of the cynical statements by the self-styled representatives of eighteen Latin American peoples is to justify future acts of intervention by United States troops in other Latin American countries and, in particular, to prepare the way for aggression against Cuba when the wave of revolution rises over this oppressed and exploited continent and when the tiny minority of monopolists that rules the United States - those who are responsible for the present tensions in the world and are guilty of acts of aggression and intervention - sees the empire which upholds their interests crumbling to dust at their feet.

"However, Cuba is not defended by a heroic but unarmed people like that of the Dominican Republic, and the day on which this imperialist Power and its accomplices dare to lay their rapacious hands on our fatherland will indeed be a day for the United Nations to long for peace, because the resistance they encounter will shake the world.

"Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) Fidel CASTRO RUZ  
Prime Minister of the Revolutionary  
Government of Cuba

Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) Juan JUARBE Y JUARBE  
Counsellor  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

REPLY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF URUGUAY TO THE SOVIET NOTE ON THE  
TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE AND SUMMARY OF THE TEXT OF THE RUSSIAN NOTE

(Translated from the "Boletín para el Servicio Exterior del  
Gobierno del Uruguay," Year III, March 20, 1966, No. 104)

On the 15th of this month, Foreign Minister Vidal Zaglio received in his office Ambassador Igor Kolosovsky, chief of the diplomatic mission of the Soviet Union in our country, and brought to his attention the note verbale approved by the National Council of Government, in reply to the one that Ambassador Kolosovsky delivered to the Foreign Ministry last February 11.

The Soviet note of February 11 replied to a statement made by our government that contained strong criticism of the resolution adopted by the Tricontinental Conference of Havana, with specific emphasis on the extent to which the authorities of the USSR supported the statements made by its representatives on that occasion.

NOTE OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF URUGUAY

"The Government of the Republic has taken cognizance of the reply of the Ambassador of the USSR to the statement recently made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, regarding the resolutions adopted at the so-called Tricontinental Conference of Havana.

"1. First, to avoid any misunderstanding, the Government of Uruguay wishes to point out that its statement was intended to clarify a situation--originating in the resolutions of the Havana Conference--which constitutes a serious undermining of the juridical bases of harmonious international relations, an inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of various states, and an intolerable violation of the principle of self-determination, extremes that are recognized and affirmed as such in positive international law in force. There is nothing in Uruguay's statement that represents either a 'propaganda campaign' or a 'malicious attack against Soviet foreign policy;' neither is there any intended 'misrepresentation of Soviet policy on the Latin American countries.'

"If these attitudes are attributed even indirectly to Uruguay, the government not only cannot accept them, but also firmly and completely denies them. They have nothing to do with Uruguay's position, which was only to point out that it is seriously and inadmissibly irregular for an international conference, participated in by citizens and governments of states with which Uruguay maintains diplomatic relations, to proclaim and incite internal subversion and to promise aid to subversive movements--all in violation of the clear standards of international law.

"2. The Government of Uruguay takes due note of the fact that--with regard to the USSR--according to the statement of its Ambassador, only representatives of 'Soviet social organizations' took part in the Havana Conference; in other words, there was no official Soviet delegation at the Conference and its resolutions in no way bind the Government of the USSR, which therefore disavows them.

"In reaching this conclusion, which naturally and logically derives from the Soviet reply, the Uruguayan Government considers it a duty to point out that those social organizations--some of whose representatives are members of important agencies of the Government of the USSR, agencies among whose responsibilities is the foreign policy of the country--have contributed with their vote to the approval of resolutions that openly violate the Charter of the United Nations, the aforementioned resolution adopted by the Twentieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, and the principles that the USSR proclaims as fundamental to its foreign policy.

"3. The Uruguayan Government has demonstrated its adherence to the principle of nonintervention, its clearly leading role in the defense of self-determination of the peoples, and its will to fight for an international code of peace and justice, based on the maintenance of friendly relations and cooperation with all states.

"But, for that very reason, it cannot tolerate the fact that a conference, lacking qualifying credentials of any kind, should proclaim an interventionist and aggressive policy, and that participating in this conference with impunity are persons or organizations, whether or not official representatives, of states with which Uruguay maintains diplomatic relations.

"4. In taking note of the assertion that the USSR 'complies strictly with the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of the states'--a principle also fully observed by Uruguay with a precision that allows for no distortion whatever--this government must observe that such a view obligates and commits the USSR to adopt necessary measures to condemn all attitudes leading to the repudiation or violation--direct or indirect--of what it claims to be a cardinal principle of its foreign policy."

#### SUMMARY OF THE NOTE OF THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN URUGUAY

"The Soviet Government sees no special need to disavow officially such provocative fictions, whose inconsistency is evident," wrote the Soviet Ambassador Igor Kolosovsky to Vidal Zaglio in a note verbale, presented on Friday as a reply to the demand made of him by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Saturday, January 29th, regarding Soviet intervention in the so-called Tricontinental Conference of Havana.

The term note verbale is applied to a memorandum that a diplomat delivers personally, elaborating on the discussion that has gone before. The Soviet memorandum, consisting of six pages, was distributed last night to the members of the Council of Government by the Foreign Ministry and was published exclusively by "La Mañana" in its Wednesday edition.

#### Social organizations and not the government

"Statements are being circulated," the memorandum continues, "that representatives of Soviet social organizations taking part in this Conference issued calls for subversive activities in the Latin American countries, for interference in internal affairs, etc. Brazenly falsifying the facts, some spread the statement as though it were not representatives of Soviet social organizations who had taken part, but those of the Soviet Government."

(This is the only point at which the note makes a passing distinction between representatives of the government and of social organizations (apart from the state?). What would Vice Chairman Rashidov represent, if he were to appear in a personal capacity (!).

#### Not intervention but necessary support

The note goes on to assert that, in full compliance with the United Nations Charter, the Soviet Government is guided by the principles of equality between states, mutual respect for sovereignty and independence, and strict observance of the principles of nonintervention. "The inalienable right of every people to determine its own destiny," the note specifically emphasizes, "has been one of the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy since the earliest days of the Soviet state." (All of which the satellite countries of Europe know full well, and which was made overwhelmingly evident in the martyrdom of Budapest.)

"The Soviet Union has always rejected and now rejects the so-called 'export of revolution' and strongly denies any intent to 'export counter-revolution'," the note continues. Further on, it adds that, in keeping "with its policy of peace and of strengthening the independence and sovereignty of all states and of nonintervention in their internal affairs, the Soviet Union has given and continues to give necessary support to those states and peoples that are victims of aggression on the part of imperialist forces."

#### All is United States intrigue

Next, it is asked: "Taking all this into account, the question naturally arises: For what purpose are attempts now being made to present a distorted picture of USSR policy with respect to the Latin American countries?"

The answer is obvious:

"The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that the hostile campaign now unfolding in the United States and certain Latin American countries is only in response to the interests of those forces that are the very ones carrying out the policy of aggression and flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of other states. These forces--and it is no secret that they come primarily from certain circles within the United States--hope, at any price, to distract the attention of the peoples from their criminal actions in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and in many other nations in the world. It is not by chance that the so-called complaint against the Soviet Union was lodged in the OAS precisely at the time that the United States of America was preparing to renew the barbarous bombardments of the peaceful cities and towns of North Vietnam. It is impossible not to see that, aided by this complaint, the United States believes it can confuse public opinion in the Latin American countries to enable it more easily to intensify its policy of pressure, including armed intervention in their internal affairs, which, as is already known, is openly called for in the notorious resolution of the U.S. House of Representatives of September 20, 1965."

With this counterattack, in which it is implicit that the Latin American position in the OAS, including that of our country, was determined and directed by the United States, the note concludes "expressing the hope that, in spite of the intrigues of the circles indicated, which would like to obstruct the fruitful development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Latin American countries, these relations, in behalf of mutual interests, are going to develop successfully."



UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL



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19 February 1966  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 19 FEBRUARY 1966 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE UNION OF THE SOCIAL SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Soviet Union, which is a permanent member of the Security Council, has received a letter from the representatives of eighteen Latin American States (S/7123, dated 8 February 1966) setting forth the views of the Governments of those States concerning the decisions of the Solidarity Conference of the peoples of three continents held recently at Havana. In this connexion I have been instructed to make the following statement.

It is known that the Havana conference provided a forum in which representatives of public opinion in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America considered matters relating to the struggle of the peoples against imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation.

From the letter of the representatives of the Latin American countries addressed to the President of the Security Council it is clear that the signatories to that letter were pursuing aims which are in no way related to the tasks of the Security Council as entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter. In point of fact the letter represents an attempt to divert attention from the real violations of the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States committed by those forces which, defying the basic principles of international law, are perpetrating armed aggression in South Viet-Nam, barbarously bombing peaceful towns and villages in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, continuing their armed intervention in the Dominican Republic and threatening the security of many other States. It is well known that these acts are being committed by the United States of America. The same may be said of another document, circulated on 11 February 1966 by the United Nations Secretariat: a resolution of the Council of the Organization of American States setting forth various fabrications with reference to the decisions of the Havana Solidarity Conference of the peoples of the three continents.

The Soviet Government considers that the real duty of all States interested in strengthening peace is to call upon the United States and those States associated with it in its activities constituting a threat to peace unconditionally to put an end to all such activities and adhere strictly to the principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty. The Soviet Government takes this occasion to state once again that it resolutely condemns any foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of States and in the sovereign rights of peoples. This is likewise its position with regard to the countries of Latin America, with which the Soviet Union, as always, wishes to maintain only friendly relations.

The right of public organizations to express their views on the vital problems of our time, as exercised by the participants in the Havana conference, cannot be questioned by anyone, and the activities of those organizations are in no way within the competence of the Security Council.

I request you, Mr. President, to be so kind as to have this letter circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) N. FEDORENKO

PRESS RELEASE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN GROUP IN THE  
UNITED NATIONS, FEBRUARY 28, 1966

1. The Permanent Representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela to the United Nations deem it necessary to publicly refer to the letters addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the President of the Security Council by the Prime Minister of Cuba and by the Permanent Representative of the USSR, respectively, on the so called "First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America".

2. Although the letter of the Prime Minister of Cuba is drafted in slanderous terms that rule out its consideration, we wish to point out that it fully confirms the interventionist purposes that have been expressed in that conference and were denounced by us in a communication addressed to the President of the Security Council on 7 February 1966. Suffice it to note in this connection that, despite the fact that Cuba voted for resolution 2131 (XX) of the General Assembly on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Internal Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, that Government's Prime Minister, inter alia, reaffirms in that communication that:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba fully adheres to the decisions adopted by the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

3. As for the letter of the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we come to the conclusion that his country's position-- which had proposed the inclusion of the item and voted for resolution 2131 (XX) on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Internal Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty--is inconsistent with a faithful adherence to that principle as may be deduced, for instance, from the message addressed to the participants of that conference by the First Secretary of the Communist Party and by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev and Mr. Aleksey Kosygin. That message unequivocally explains the position of the Soviet Government in the matter.

4. Under such circumstances, and not finding anything new in the Soviet letter, we deem it necessary to fully reiterate to the public the communication we sent to the President of the Security Council on 7 February 1966, and to reject emphatically the imputations contained in the letter of the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. At the same time, we reaffirm the right to bring to the attention of the President of the Security Council whatever fact that, in the judgment of our Governments, entails consequences for the maintenance of international peace and security.

February 28, 1966

EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION PRESENTED TO THE  
23rd CONGRESS OF THE PARTY BY LEONID BREZHNEV,  
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PARTY, MARCH 29, 1966

"... Communists stand at the head of partisan detachments and underground groups of revolutionaries in countries where an armed struggle is in progress against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All this is practical evidence of the mounting influence exercised by the Communist parties and of their unbreakable ties with the people."

"In France, Italy, Finland, Belgium, Britain, Austria, Denmark, Cyprus, Australia, and Canada; in India, Ceylon, Syria, Iraq, Sudan, and the South African Republic; in Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, and in other countries--wherever Communist parties exist they wage a determined struggle for greater influence on the masses, for the interests of the working class and all other working people."

"The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of a large group of young independent states on the world scene confronts the Communist movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America with new tasks. Born in the flames of the national liberation revolutions, it is gaining strength in the struggle for their consummation, for the consolidation of freedom and independence, and for social progress."

"For many years now, the Communist parties of Spain, Portugal, Greece, West Germany, Venezuela, Peru, the South African Republic, and a number of other countries have had to operate underground. The Communist Party of the United States is fighting gallantly in most difficult conditions, withstanding the assault of a giant, coercive police machinery, and hounded continuously by anticommunist ideologists in the pay of the bourgeoisie."

"Special mention must be made of the courageous liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America. Only recently the United States regarded Latin America as its reliable rear. There is not a single country in that continent today where the people are not waging a struggle against United States imperialism and its accomplices--the local military, feudals, and bourgeoisie, who are linked with foreign monopolies. This struggle is headed by the working class and the Communist parties."

"An important factor of our time is the consolidation of the unity of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples in the struggle against imperialism. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement, the movement for the unity of the Arab peoples, and for the unity of the peoples of Africa, and the solidarity movement of the peoples of the three continents conform to the vital interests of these peoples and we actively and ardently support them."

"Comrades, the CPSU sees its internationalist duty in continuing to do its utmost to support the struggle of the peoples for final liberation from colonial and neocolonial oppression. Our party and the Soviet state will continue to:

"Render utmost support to the peoples fighting for their liberation and strive for the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples;

"Develop all-round cooperation with countries that have won national independence and help them to advance their economy, train national cadres, and in the struggle against neo-colonialism;

"Strengthen the fraternal links of the CPSU with the Communist parties and revolutionary democratic organizations in Asian, African, and Latin American countries."

SPEECH BY OSMANY CIENFUEGOS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF AALAPSO,  
DELIVERED AT THE INSTALLATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT,  
MAY 31, 1966<sup>1</sup>

People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: Today we begin the tasks of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO). Scarcely four months after the Tricontinental Conference we can joyfully see the results of the historic meeting which brought together the most genuine representatives of the Asian, African, and Latin American people. The delegations returned to their countries and began the task of informing the people of the meaning of the conference. This was the beginning of extensive work to put into practice the resolutions adopted at the first Tricontinental Conference.

The first steps taken in this historic task show that it is possible for peoples to plan effectively and coordinate action against their common enemy. The campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam and Santo Domingo prove this. We carried out these historic campaigns by resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference. Millions of people throughout the world were mobilized, and they vigorously supported the struggle of these heroic peoples and condemned the criminal aggression and hateful interventions by North American imperialism.

Against this effective mobilization of our peoples, imperialism has been carrying out its measures of intimidation, blackmail, intrigues, and aggression in a useless endeavor to crush the solidarity movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples. Hostile measures by imperialism began before the conference opened. They knew that our discussions would be crowned with success and that we would be able to form a common fighting front capable of opposing their criminal offensive. As the first measure to try to prevent the holding of the conference or to hinder the progress of its work, imperialist agents kidnaped and brutally murdered Mehdi Ben Barka, chairman of the international preparatory committee of the first Tricontinental Conference and one of its most active supporters.

In spite of these attacks the conference was held, and while the peoples of three continents met, the imperialists ordered their puppets to take repressive measures against the conference participants. They leveled accusations against the host country and charged that plans for intervention in countries of the three continents had been drafted at the conference. It is worth pointing out that the greatest repercussions against the Tricontinental Conference were felt in Latin America, because it is so close to the largest arsenal of imperialism.

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1. Translated from the Spanish version carried by Radio Havana.

The U.S. Government has felt the effects of the conference and has utilized its resources in this continent to promote a reaction against it by Latin American lackey governments. An example of this is the letter of the so-called Latin American group presented to the U.N. Security Council accusing the Havana conference of violating U.N. principles. This letter was vigorously answered by the Prime Minister of Cuba in a letter to the U.N. Secretary General. In it he said that the people have a right to sweep away those traitorous governments. He added that it was the duty of progressive states and governments to support the people who fight against imperialism.

The intention of these Latin American puppet governments in sending the letter was to give a legal facade, behind such organizations as the United Nations and the Organization of American States--the latter the Yankee colonial ministry--to their reactionary actions and repression against people who fight for their complete liberation and national independence.

One of the first measures adopted because of fear of the Tricontinental Conference was the statement by the Dominican Republic's government that it would forbid the return to the country of Dominican delegates to the conference. One of the arguments used by Latin American governments was that of violation of U.N. Charter principles.

Some reactionary governments such as those of Brazil and Uruguay tried to exert political pressures on some countries to try to get them to reconsider the positions adopted by their delegations to the conference. This was a political maneuver doomed to failure, because the spirit of the conference agreements was unobjectionable even from the point of view of international law. Some reactionary governments of the continent have even tried to blame the conference for actions undertaken by the people of their countries. This occurred in Chile after the miners' strikes and in Guatemala after actions by the rebel forces.

The Tricontinental Conference was attacked by certain press organs throughout the world. The Spanish magazine INTERNACIONAL echoed the Yankee State Department, and EL MERCURIO of Chile blamed the miners' strikes on the conference. EL UNIVERSAL GRAFICO of Mexico said that the conference drafted plans to unleash disturbances, terrorism, and acts of subversion. EL UNIVERSAL of Caracas published two pages of alleged secret agreements, and LA PRENSA of Argentina called the conference a brazen threat to the freedom of America. The imperialist AP and UPI published their attacks throughout the world. The Swiss paper D'AVIS called the Havana meeting a gigantic communist propaganda operation, and L'AUORE of France ridiculed the conference and said that it would have no practical results. BORBA and POLITIKA of Yugoslavia also published articles attacking the conference resolutions.

We must point out that those who attack the conference are opposed to the national liberation struggle of peoples, while those who defend the conference and struggle for the success of its resolutions are in favor of the struggle in the three continents and seek unity in the fight against imperialism. There is no doubt that the agreements of the Tricontinental Conference are permeated with a revolutionary, anti-imperialist spirit and have had repercussions throughout the entire world. They are a cause for great concern in all sectors of international reaction. Proof of this is the fact that the Tricontinental Conference was condemned at both the world conference of Christian Democrats and the congress of the Socialist International. This places them in the ranks of the enemies of the people.

Within the framework of the imperialist plans against the conference, a number of agents of reactionary policy, such as the Argentine foreign minister, are making trips throughout the entire world, visiting the countries of Africa and Asia, primarily with the intention of politically influencing the governments so that they will refrain from giving their support to or showing their sympathy for the Tricontinental Conference, or to obtain from them their avowed opposition to the conference. All these measures give an idea of the degree of fear awakened in imperialism and explain its plans to carry out a strong criminal offensive against the oppressed peoples.

Everyone knows that one of the primary objectives which brought us together in Havana at the beginning of the year was to develop a global strategy for the revolutionaries against the global counterrevolutionary strategy of imperialism under the leadership of the Yankee imperialists, who in their aggressive plans against the peoples have created military blocs such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, and the OAS. In addition, they have installed many military bases in foreign lands to try to prevent the development and growth of the national liberation movements of the peoples of the three continents.

Yankee imperialism maneuvers frenziedly, and in South Korea it is organizing a meeting of ministers of Asia and the Pacific Ocean area, with representatives from South Korea, Thailand, South Vietnam, Japan, Australia, Taiwan, Malaysia, New Zealand, and the Philippines, with the United States as observer, for the purpose of creating a new aggressive military alliance aimed against the people. The imperialist forces of the United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Belgium, and Portugal recently have increased their policy of aggression against peoples. They have renewed colonial and neocolonial oppression and exploitation and are trying by every means to crush the national liberation movement which is developing with great impetus in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

However, at the present time, within the imperialist camp, events are taking place which unmistakably show division and weakness beneath the apparent monolithic strength of the exploiters. The differences between the United States and France become greater every day, and France has withdrawn

from NATO, the bellicose organization conceived to maintain the aggressive policy of North American imperialism in Europe, primarily against the socialist camp. There is growing opposition by the people of the United States to the aggression in Vietnam, and there are increasing symptoms of discontent by the allies of the United States because of its policies.

In view of this situation whereby U.S. imperialism sees its alliance in Europe endangered, and in view of the increasing resistance to its strategy of criminal aggressions, the Yankee government is increasing its aggression in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in an effort to consolidate its positions.

The world witnesses the criminal war which North American imperialism is waging against the Vietnamese people, using chemicals and poison gases and the most criminal and inhuman methods ever conceived. Thousands of U.S. troops have been sent to Vietnam, in addition to mercenary troops from countries such as South Korea, Thailand, New Zealand, Taiwan, Australia, and the Philippines. In spite of this they have not been able to overcome the determination and courage of the Vietnamese. Because of their inability to vanquish them, they have extended their dirty war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRV), which they have been bombing continuously, even using their B-52 airplanes. The Vietnamese fighters have already destroyed more than 1,000 of the imperialist aggressors' airplanes, and the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet Nam (NFLSV) has caused all the imperialist dry season operations to fail.

The U.S. Government, after flagrantly violating the 1954 Geneva agreements, has tried desperately to impose a false and brazen peace on the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people have rejected this maneuver and have demanded acceptance of the DRV's four points and the five points of the NFLSV. These are supported by all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. The imperialists are gradually escalating the war, bombing Laos and Cambodia and using the military bases and reactionary forces of the Thai Army. The people of Laos and Cambodia have put up a victorious resistance to the imperialist aggressions. As a pretext for these aggressions, the Yankee government uses the alleged help that Laos and Cambodia are giving to the Vietnamese struggle for liberation.

However, they are not satisfied with all this, but are constantly committing provocations against the Chinese Peoples' Republic, violating its air space and its frontiers and going to the extreme of shooting down an airplane of the People's Liberation Army over its own country, thus trying to extend the war to another Asian socialist country.

Just as in Vietnam, the Korean people continue to endure the division of their country, a result of Yankee imperialist warmongering plans. The imperialists maintain a climate of tension and have occupied that country for more than 20 years.

Another thing which attracts our attention are the recent events in Indonesia, where the progressive forces are massacred savagely by the forces of the national oligarchy and military reaction at the service of imperialism. Thousands of fighters for the welfare and independence of the people have been murdered, and many are enduring the bloodiest persecution by the military regime in power.

North Kalimantan and Malaysia are two more places on the Asian Continent where the peoples are fighting for independence and sovereignty. New indications of revolutionary struggle are seen in the Middle East with the installation of a new Syrian government which has displayed a firm anti-imperialist stand and a desire to fight for the Arab world. Other indications are the machinations of imperialism in trying to revive the defunct Baghdad Pact and the supplying of arms to Israel by the West German and U.S. governments. The constant Israeli provocations against the Arab countries and against the Palestine people in their aspirations to recover their land, as well as the bombings by British imperialism of the people of southern occupied Yemen, are additional phases of imperialist aggression.

The Yankee imperialist offensive, just as in Asia, is felt by the peoples of the African continent. Long before the Tricontinental Conference it could be seen that North American imperialism, in its zeal to replace its French, Belgian, and British partners, was taking steps to become the absolute owner of the wealth of the African continent. The growing wave of coups d'etat by reactionary and military minorities which ended with the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah shows that the North American imperialist, using their CIA agents and their famous Peace Corps, are taking their policy of coups d'etat to the African Continent to implant military governments such as that of Ghana, the African version of the gorilla dictatorships of Latin America.

The imperialist plans have been firmly rejected by the revolutionary forces of Africa. The Guinean Government has vigorously condemned the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, denounced the policy of imperialism, and mobilized all its people to resist the maneuvers of its enemies and to fight if necessary side by side with the people of Ghana to recover their independence. Against this firm attitude of the people of Guinea, the imperialist French forces are provoking incidents through the reactionaries of the Ivory Coast.

In Southern Rhodesia the white minority, with the consent of the British Government, has declared a unilateral independence, depriving the African people of Zimbabwe of their rights. The complicity of Great Britain in not recognizing the rights of the people of Zimbabwe clearly shows that it shares a common cause with the governments of the United States, South Africa, Portugal, and West Germany, who are helping Ian Smith in his plans to consolidate his system of colonial, racist domination. With the government of Ian Smith is the government of Verwoerd of South Africa, where millions of Africans suffer the oppression of the system of racial discrimination.

The situation in Latin America has been characterized by increasingly strong people's struggles against the actions promoted by imperialism. After each action by the people of this continent for their independence and emancipation, the lackey governments of Latin America have raised voices of condemnation. Playing the game of Yankee imperialism, they have called these actions a communist maneuver and subversion planned by the Tricontinental Conference financed by money from Havana.

If we were to gage the repercussion of the Tricontinental Conference on this continent, we would have no better yardstick than the campaign unleashed by the puppet governments of Latin America and the news agencies of imperialism against the Tricontinental Conference. The OAS report recommending a series of measures to counteract the effects of the Tricontinental Conference and stating that the first Tricontinental Conference was a definite threat to the free countries of the world and the most serious threat ever posed by international communism is another proof of the imperialist offensive. It also demonstrates their fear of the struggle being waged by peoples seeking their national liberation.

The primary threat to the so-called inter-American system which they see in the Tricontinental Conference is the fact that Cuba was chosen as the site of the conference and of the organizations created, and that Cuba is an example of a country in struggle which supports revolutionary movements. It is obvious that the offensive unleashed recently by the imperialist forces is motivated by the increased tempo of the national liberation movements in the three continents.

The scope of the imperialist offensive indicates the magnitude of the national liberation movements of the three continents, movements which--supported by the presence of the socialist camp, the struggles of the worker movements in the capitalist countries and the growing struggles of the North American people demanding the cessation of imperialist aggression against Vietnam, abolition of racial discrimination, and respect for the rights of citizens--are dealing harsh blows against imperialism and contributing to its collapse.

At this time, as we review the revolutionary and anti-imperialist actions of the peoples of the three continents, we send our message of encouragement and solidarity to the fighters of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The victory of the Cuban revolution opens new vistas on the Latin American continent, destroying the myth of geographic fatalism and of the impossibility of a small country of this continent beginning the construction of socialism at the very doors of the most powerful enemy of the people.

The seven years of progress of the Cuban revolution have been marked by seven years of continuous struggle by the people of Latin America. The progress of the national liberation struggles in Latin America has

reached such a level and has been so successful that even members of the North American imperialist government are forced to admit the inevitability of revolution on this continent, and they propose that measures be taken to prevent that revolution from occurring in its most radical or true form.

The best example of the success of the national liberation struggles is that of the Vietnamese people against the criminal aggressions by the North American expeditionary forces. It is the highest expression of the national liberation struggle of the three continents.

Its example is taking root in the minds of oppressed peoples and revolutionary movements of the world. As the national liberation struggles of Africa, Asia, and Latin America progress, the day is not far off when imperialism will be powerless to prevent the victory of world revolution.

The aggressive character of imperialism is once more demonstrated by the latest aggressions by Yankee imperialism against Cuba. With its discredited international policy, which together with its provocations and aggression against small countries shows its criminal, rapacious, interventionist character; which shows the cynicism of the Yankee leaders and their exploiting policy, which without a doubt is the most cruel and bloody enemy of the peoples of the world, imperialism today once more moves against Cuba, cynically using a false pretext to deceive world public opinion and to justify a possible direct aggression against the first free territory of America.

In view of these facts, the attitude adopted by the Cuban Government and people is worthy of note: that of repelling with determination and courage, fighting to the last man and bullet if necessary, any direct aggression by the Yankee imperialists against our country.

In an effort to strengthen its system, imperialism girdles the globe with military bases. It proclaims its alleged right to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, giving itself the right to play the shameful role of international gendarme. Faced with the aggressive character of the imperialist led by the Yankee imperialist in their rapacious, dirty, cynical, and shameless policy of counterrevolutionary violence, the peoples are opposing their revolutionary violence. Regardless of the measures taken by imperialism, they will never be able to halt the march of the people toward their national liberation. The march of history cannot be halted. The people have said "enough" to imperialist domination and oppression and have embarked on the road which millions of their brothers have already trod, and today they construct a bright future for themselves.

Taking advantage of this historic meeting in which we officially create the Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO, we urge the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, particularly their revolutionary, anti-imperialist

vanguards, to vigorously redouble their struggles for independence and national liberation against the colonialists, neocolonialists, and imperialist oppressors and exploiters. Let us strengthen all our struggles and actions. With our surging struggle let us put an end to the system of colonial and imperialist domination. People of Africa, Asia, and Latin America: revolution is the victory and the victory is the bright future of all our peoples. Let us give a mighty impetus to the principles adopted at the first Tricontinental Conference. This great mass of humanity has said "enough" and has begun to move, and this march of giants will not be stopped until it wins its definitive liberation. Long live the solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America! Long live the Tricontinental Conference!

DECLARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF AALAPSO  
MAY 31, 1966<sup>1/</sup>

Pursuant to the Resolutions passed by the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference, held in the city of Habana, the First Free Territory of America, from January 3 to 15 of this year with the participation of 82 countries, the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization was established today, May 31, 1966, in this same city. The Secretariat is composed of representatives of Cuba (Secretary General), Venezuela, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Chile, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, The Congo (Leopoldville), the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Pakistan, Syria and South Viet-Nam.

During the five months that have passed since that historic meeting took place, world events have proved the correctness of the Conference's views of the increasingly aggressive nature of imperialism; the justness of the uprisings in connection with the yearning for progress and the people's decision to fight for it; the need for active solidarity between the peoples who are about to achieve their independence and those who, although they have taken this historic step, continue to be subjected to the ruthless policy of intervention, pressure, aggression, encirclement and blackmail of the imperialists whom the increasingly victorious battle of the peoples has doomed to disappear from the world scene.

No backward step along the road  
to mankind's liberation

The fruitful conclusion of the First Tricontinental Conference, while arousing the enthusiasm of the peoples, evoked the most angry reactions from the colonialists, the neo-colonialists and the imperialists, especially the Yankees and their lackeys, in consequence of their total defeat suffered at this unprecedented, massive meeting in Habana of the anti-imperialist movement of the three continents that for centuries have endured the exploitation of their natural wealth and the cruel wounding of their dignity.

The imperialists' reaction to this tremendous revolutionary success also reflects their fear that the peoples struggling to be free will intensify and speed up their efforts to extend the solidarity and militancy of the revolutionary movement throughout the three continents, raise the ideological level of the masses, and obliterate the lies and slander of the exploiters' propaganda. The imperialists know that the Tricontinental Conference is a forward step of great significance along the road to the liberation of mankind.

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1. Translated from the Spanish version published in the official newspaper Granma, Havana, June 3, 1966.

Lately, Yankee imperialism and its lackeys--the imperialists of Great Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Japan, the Portuguese colonialists, and Israel, the tool of imperialism--have increased their acts of aggression against the peoples who are struggling to attain their liberation or to preserve their independence and sovereignty. An endless chain of intervention, aggression, and provocation in full contempt of world opinion; repression and mass murder in Indonesia; the overthrowing of the People's Government in Ghana; the military occupation of the Dominican Republic by the United States of America against the people's will; the intensified bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; the increased acts of aggression and the extermination policy carried out in South Viet-Nam; the acts of armed aggression against the peoples of Cambodia and Laos; the acts of provocation against the Chinese Peoples Republic, against Syria, against the Republic of Guinea and occupied South Yemen, and the latest acts of aggression and provocation against the Cuban people carried out from the Guantanamo Naval Base located on usurped Cuban territory--these are some of the desperate expressions of the policy of unbridled criminal imperialism. This Secretariat pronounces its most emphatic condemnation of these crimes of aggression and provocation, which are true manifestations of the Fascist character that capitalism has assumed.

The people intensify their struggle against imperialism

At the same time, we are happy to note that, in spite of the imperialist violence, the people continue to intensify their struggle, bringing the day of final victory even closer. In North Viet-Nam, imperialism has been dealt some hard blows, and its policy of intimidation has failed; the number of Yankee planes shot down has recently gone well over one thousand, and this constitutes a resounding victory for all people of the world. In South Viet-Nam, in spite of the continuous increase of the occupation army, the imperialists failed in their dry-season offensive and the people's armies have scored new victories, killing great numbers of Yankee and puppet soldiers. It is likewise necessary to point out the success of the political struggle in the cities of South Viet-Nam, where the people's movement has gained strength and has made the enemy's position more and more precarious. In Laos the patriotic forces are scoring heavily every day, repulsing the repeated attacks of the Yankees and their vassals. The valient Cambodians are putting up a stiffer resistance to the imperialists' aggression. In Yemen, Aden and North Borneo the revolutionary movements are firmly established. In Africa the imperialists' maneuvers to annihilate the armed struggle of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and The Congo (Leopoldville) have resulted in utter failure. The African people have been able to uncover and defeat the coups d'etat engineered by the subversion of the imperialists bent on reconquering the African Continent. In Latin America the Dominican people have progressed in their struggle for self-determination and against the American occupation. We salute the advance of the patriotic forces in Guatemala, which have exposed the recent electoral burlesque and converted their armed struggle into a clear promise of victory for the masses. In Venezuela, Peru and Colombia, the attempts

of imperialists puppets to stamp out revolutionary armed struggle has come to naught. In Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Argentina, Uruguay, Ecuador, Chile, Puerto Rico, South Rhodesia, Uganda, South Africa, and other countries, mass struggles have acquired a vigorous pace, thus improving the positions of the revolutionary movements in the achievement of their goals. In conjunction with the movement of the three continents, the struggles of the people have reached supreme heights in other countries of the world, one of the most noteworthy being the American people's opposition to the war in Viet-Nam and their struggle to end race discrimination.

An appeal to all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to join in the struggle

The Executive Secretariat, in the name of the peoples of the three continents, expresses its unswerving and unconditional support to these just struggles. It pays heartfelt homage to the martyrs who gave their lives for the liberation of their countries. It proclaims its fervid solidarity with the revolutionists who languish in prisons, and demands their release; it sends greetings and words of encouragement to the heroic fighting men of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and especially to the valiant people of Viet-Nam, whose epic and victorious struggle is today the center of the anti-imperialist fight and has become a source of inspiration and an example of faith for all peoples of the world.

This panorama, giving a glimpse of the imperialist violence on all sides and of the revolutionary conscience awakened in all the exploited peoples, imparts greater historical validity to this First Tricontinental Conference and gives greater stimulus and purposefulness to the Organization brought into being today in revolutionary and socialist Cuba.

To carry out the objectives assigned to this Secretariat, we send out a vigorous call to all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and of the World, exhorting them to cooperate actively with the Executive Secretariat of the AALAPSO in uniting, coordinating and encouraging the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism; and to lend their active support to those people who are fighting to preserve and consolidate as well as to win their liberation, their independence, and their national sovereignty as essential requisites to world peace and social progress. Lastly, we declare that we will devote our utmost energy and efforts to carrying out successfully the historic mandate conferred upon us by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America at the First Tricontinental Solidarity Conference.

JOINT DECLARATION ON VIET-NAM, ISSUED BY THE AALAPSO  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT AND COMMITTEE ON VIET-NAM,  
JULY 12, 1966<sup>1/</sup>

Today, July 12, 1966, the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Tricontinental Committee of Support for the Vietnamese People met in joint session in Havana, Cuba, to analyze the situation in Viet Nam.

Both organizations salute the heroic fighters of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and all those who, with their blood, are writing a modern epic of firm resistance against the barbaric forces of imperialist aggression. At the same time the NLF is defending the right of all peoples to win their freedom and to live in peace and dignity. Today Vietnamese men, women and children are waging a life or death struggle against far better equipped invading troops from an enemy country, troops representing the principal enemy of mankind in our era. The two organizations agreed that:

The United States and the Geneva agreements

I. Twelve years have passed since the signing of the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. The U.S. Government, however, in violation of all the points agreed upon, has continually and systematically destroyed these agreements in ever more serious ways. U.S. imperialism has advanced from intervention to direct armed aggression in South Viet Nam, and has begun to use its air power to extend the war, attacking North Viet Nam. At the same time the U.S. is intensifying its intervention in Laos, using the troops of its South Vietnamese puppet regime to repeatedly violate the frontiers of the Kingdom of Cambodia and threaten its neutrality. All these Yankee imperialist maneuvers tend to perpetuate division of Viet Nam and make South Viet Nam a U.S. military base and neo-colony.

On the one hand, the U.S. government is using more than 280,000 United States soldiers from its most select units, more than 30,000 troops from U.S. satellite countries, and 500,000 soldiers of the South Vietnamese puppet regime's army, equipped with the most modern weapons from Yankee arsenals, to massacre the South Vietnamese population. On the other hand, parallel with this frantic intensification of its aggressive war, U.S. ruling circles continue expounding their hypocritical "desire for peace," their "willingness to begin unconditional negotiations," and their "desire to restore the 1954 Geneva Agreements." Meanwhile they stubbornly refuse

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1. Taken from the English edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, July 17, 1966.

to recognize the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the sole legitimate representative of the 14 million people of South Viet Nam. They also refuse to accept the position set forth in the four points promulgated by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, which incorporate the fundamental precepts of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. Clever though they may be, U.S. ruling circles can never successfully camouflage their despicable plans of aggression against the people of Viet Nam.

#### Crimes worse than Hitler's

The military pirates of the United States of America and its satellites, other imperialist countries that join them in attacking Viet Nam, are violating the international agreements signed in 1954 in Geneva, committing crimes that surpass in cruelty and savagery those committed by Hitler's fascist hordes. In South Viet Nam, U.S. expeditionary forces are pursuing an inhuman "scorched earth" policy. They burn, destroy, or kill everything in their path. B-52 strategic bombers, napalm bombs, white phosphorus, fragmentation bombs, chemicals and toxic gases are being used more intensively every day to raze villages, massacre the civilian population and destroy crops. In North Viet Nam, Yankee planes continue their day and night bombardment of villages and cities, causing casualties among the civilian population, destroying hospitals, schools, churches, pagodas, dams and hydraulic works, economic and civil installations. These crimes of the U.S. imperialist aggressor are an outrage and an insult to human morality, and are in violation of all international agreements and law. The peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the entire world, in profound indignation energetically condemn the bestial, murdering Yankee aggressors, and demand that these war criminals be tried before the international courts as aggressors against Viet Nam, saboteurs of the 1954 Geneva agreements, violators of international law and enemies of mankind.

#### Viet Nam: A stimulus to struggling peoples

II. The Vietnamese people, as their hatred for the enemy continues to deepen, have redoubled their vigilance and are wielding their weapons with even greater determination in decided resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

In South Viet Nam, the people and the Armed Forces of Liberation guided by their National Liberation Front, have defeated the Yankee "dry season counteroffensive" plan, and are defeating---as from the beginning---imperialism's "local war."

In South Vietnamese cities, the powerful upsurge in the popular struggle is forcing the Yankees and their lackeys into an extremely difficult situation.

In North Viet Nam, the people and the people's army have shot down more than eleven hundred Yankee planes to date, striking a hard blow against the supposed "superior air power of the United States."

The constant victories achieved by the Vietnamese people greatly stimulate other struggling peoples and are a powerful contribution to the just causes of national liberation, independence, freedom and peace in Africa, Asia, Latin America and throughout the entire world. The victory of the Vietnamese people is the victory of all peoples.

The political resolution of the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference clearly pointed out that: "The defense of the just cause of the Vietnamese people has become a central task in the revolutionary strategy of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. But at the same time, the defense of this cause is today linked with the interests of all men and women who defend national sovereignty, democracy and peace, and who believe in the ideals of all mankind.

#### World support for Viet Nam

This is why all the peoples of the world unanimously support the people of Viet Nam. The recent Week of Solidarity with Viet Nam, celebrated from March 12 to 19 throughout the world in accordance with an agreement taken at the First Tricontinental Conference, has been crowned with great success.

Yankee imperialism continues its aggressions in Viet Nam. It continues recklessly sending more troops and modern weapons to South Viet Nam, intensifying its war of aggression and escalating its war of destruction in North Viet Nam. From June 29 to today, U.S. imperialism has shamefully intensified its bombardments of suburban zones of Hanoi and Haiphong, taking another, extremely serious step in its policy of escalation of aggressions against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

According to the 1954 Geneva agreements, Viet Nam should have been united and completely free for 10 years. To date, however, these sacred and rightful aspirations of the Vietnamese people have not been realized because of U.S. imperialist aggression.

#### Call to governments and peoples

III. Therefore, on July 20 of this year, the twelfth Anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements, the Executive Secretariat of the AALAPSO and the Tricontinental Committee of Support for Viet Nam issue a resounding and urgent call to all progressive governments and parliaments, all the peoples of our three continents, all international progressive forces and organizations, all people who love justice and freedom throughout the world. Organize in every country an International Week of Solidarity and Support for the Vietnamese people!

Energetically condemn the aggressive policy of Yankee imperialism and the war crimes committed in Viet Nam. Protest against the U.S. aerial bombardment of the suburbs of Hanoi and Haiphong. Demand that Yankee imperialism end its aggressive war in South Viet Nam. Demand an immediate, definitive and unconditional end to the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with total withdrawal of the troops and weapons of the United States and its satellites in South Viet Nam, the dismantling of all Yankee military bases in South Viet Nam, and respect for the rights of the Vietnamese people to solve their internal problems.

Help show active support and give wide publicity to the four points of the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and demonstrate this recognition with concrete actions. Expose the maneuvers behind the loudly and constantly touted Yankee "peace negotiations," which the U.S. uses to try to cloak the expansion and intensification of its aggressions in Viet Nam.

Intensify all forms of action by the great masses of the people in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression. Organize meetings and demonstrations, raise funds, collect medicines and other articles of primary necessity, aid the Vietnamese people with weapons and blood donations. Train volunteers, oppose military recruitment for the Yankee war of aggression in Viet Nam, boycott the manufacture of war materials for Yankee imperialism and the shipment of U.S. men and arms to South Viet Nam. Combat the use of our countries as bases for Yankee aggression in Viet Nam.

Increase all possible forms of anti-imperialist and anti-Yankee struggle in each country to divide the forces of imperialism and thus support the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Solidarity from the peoples of our three continents and the peoples of the entire world will greatly stimulate the heroic Vietnamese people, who are, today, in the first line of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Week of Solidarity with Viet Nam, to climax on July 20, must clearly demonstrate the will of all the peoples to inflict defeat on the Yankee aggressors in Viet Nam.

Signed: The Executive Secretariat of the AALAPSO and the Tricontinental Committee of Support for the Vietnamese People in their Struggle against Yankee Aggression.

Havana, Cuba, July 12, 1966

DECLARATION ON LATIN AMERICA, BY THE AALAPSO EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT,  
JULY 25, 1966 <sup>1/</sup>

Lately, the Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO has studied the political situation of Latin America in the light of events in various countries of the hemisphere. The Executive Secretariat has made the following analysis:

In Latin America as a consequence of the peoples' hunger, misery, unemployment, and illiteracy that arises from the domination and sacking of their wealth by Yankee monopolies and their lackeys, the growth of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of national liberation movements has taken alarming form to U.S. imperialism,

Subtle methods and methods of force

French, English, and Dutch imperialism, headed by that of the United States, taking into account this struggle of the peoples, which is becoming increasingly intense, seek different ways to halt this revolutionary avalanche: it resorts to subtle methods, or to others, ranging from economic blockade, blackmail, corruption, espionage, and fraudulent elections, to imposing the military coup, which in essence is the strategy for putting Fascist military governments into power and continuing the reign of capitalist exploitation.

Therefore, North American imperialism, to assure its political and economic hegemony in the hemisphere and to continue controlling the exploitation of raw materials that serve their warlike aims, including such materials as copper, petroleum, iron, uranium, and other riches; to have strategic zones, cannon fodder, and cheap labor, overthrows traditional bourgeois governments that do not serve its purposes and installs Fascist dictatorships, in which the military gorillas, using the national armies as forces of aggression against the peoples, have given shape to the so-called "Inter-American Peace Force."

The role assigned to the military coup-makers of Brazil and Argentina, respectively, is aimed toward provocation in boundary countries, including intervening in these countries with this army of aggression and making them part of their axis for disseminating this Fascist policy.

To consolidate the so-called "Inter-American Peace Force" also explains why, through prefabricated elections, a traditional Bolivian military chief, a gorilla, has been installed as President of Bolivia, whose voice is an echo of the policy of U.S. imperialism.

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1. Translated from the version published in the Spanish edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, August 1, 1966.

### Aggressive plans

The same has occurred in the Dominican Republic, where a well-known former Trujillista was imposed by imperialism on that heroic people. The servile nature of this man is identified with that of other rulers, such as the ruler of Nicaragua, who offers his territory as a base of aggression against the Cuban people; with Colombia, which cedes its territory in the Macarena highlands for the installation of a strategic rocket base, which will serve the aggressive plans of the hemisphere; and with the Government of Venezuela, which lately received from imperialism tons of modern armaments, in addition to U.S. technical advisers, who have practiced in Viet Nam and are trained to accentuate the repression against the popular movement and its guerrilla front.

The establishment of this aggressive force is complemented with other agencies, such as the so-called "Central American Defense Council" composed of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, and El Salvador. Brazenly participating in this Board are North American military advisers of the embassies in those countries, who at their meetings, discuss the repressive plans that they will put into practice against the popular movements of those countries and that they are already thinking of using to assault the guerrilla movement and the popular struggle in Guatemala. The foregoing leads to the conclusion that imperialism is openly directed to repressive, bestial, military aggression against the popular movements, and believes that through the installation of Fascist military dictatorships to govern the Latin American countries, the installation of governments through fraudulent elections, the inciting, espionage action of the CIA, and the interventionist army, it can halt the struggle of the peoples for their emancipation.

### To respond with revolutionary violence

Imperialism, such as in Viet Nam, will meet the most open resistance from all the peoples and popular movements to such cynical intervention. The people of the world are living through a period of emancipation from the imperialist yoke. All aggressive plans and Fascist dictatorships imposed by the U.S. imperialist exploiters will be obliterated by the sovereign will of the popular and progressive masses. History moves forward toward progress; it does not retrogress. The peoples' struggle may encounter obstacles at any time, but the establishment of a society without exploiters, where peace and social progress prevail, will also be a reality in Latin America. The Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO is firmly convinced that, faced with the growth of counterrevolutionary violence on the part of imperialism, the peoples of Latin America will know how to answer with the firmest revolutionary violence, defending the "inalienable right of all peoples to full independence and to resort to all forms of struggle that may be necessary, including armed struggles, to conquer that right." (General Declaration of the First Tricontinental Conference).

Havana, July 25, 1966  
Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO

DECLARATION ON PUERTO RICO, BY THE AALAPSO  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, SEPTEMBER 7, 1966<sup>1/</sup>

Solidarity Day with Puerto Rico

September 23 of each year has been proclaimed by the organizations of the 82 countries that participated in the first Tricontinental Conference as the day of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America with the struggle for independence of the people of Puerto Rico. This date is an important one for the Puerto Rican people. On September 23, 1868, armed Puerto Rican patriots proclaimed Puerto Rico, for the first time in its history, a sovereign and independent republic. This heroic gesture was frustrated by the Spanish colonialists who at that time dominated the nation of Betances and Albizu Campos.

In 1898, as a result of the Spanish-Cuban-U.S. War, Yankee imperialists militarily occupied the island of Puerto Rico, and since that date U.S. imperialism has been suppressing the Puerto Rican desire for freedom. Today, Puerto Rico continues to live under the humiliating colonial domination of the United States of America.

United States imperialism has converted Puerto Rico into a giant military base. Thirteen percent of the national territory of that island has been converted into military and atomic bases by the U.S., so that it is literally today a civil population surrounded by military bases.

Moreover, Puerto Rico is being used as a base for aggression against the liberation movements in the Latin American and Caribbean areas, and especially against Cuba. The island has been converted into a refuge and training center for Cuban counterrevolutionaries and into a testing ground for techniques for destroying vegetation in tropical jungles, the results of which are being unleashed by the Yankee imperialists against the heroic people of Viet Nam.

It must be pointed out, as well, that more than 1,000 young men in Puerto Rico are being threatened with five years' imprisonment if they do not enroll in the imperialist army of the United States.

In other words, the U.S. is using Puerto Rico as a source of "cannon fodder" for its criminal mercenary forces.

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1. Taken from the English edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, September 11, 1966.

### Imperialist penetration

Yankee colonial power has used every means available in its attempts to destroy the national culture of Puerto Rico and to impose its own, even attempting to impose the English language on the school system of this Spanish-speaking country. Thousands of patriots have shed their blood and thousands more have been imprisoned and tortured during the 68 years of Yankee colonial occupation of Puerto Rico.

Yankee imperialism has voraciously grabbed off Puerto Rico's riches and taken control of the national economy. U.S. monopoly capital interests now control 85 percent of the imports, 95 percent of exports, 80 percent of industrial production and 50 percent of the agriculture, 40 percent of retail business, and 100 percent of telephone and telegraph services, air and sea transportation, and the considerable mineral wealth of the island, which includes copper, iron ore, gypsum, guano, etc. In other words, the most vital sectors of the economy are controlled, or owned outright, by Yankee capitalism which also enjoys the privilege of tax-free business on the island.

All this means that the United States takes an average of 300,000,000 dollars in profits from investments out of Puerto Rico annually. And while this continues, the unemployment rate in Puerto Rico is 30 percent; that is, double the unemployment figure in the U.S. during the worst years of the depression of the 1930's. Wages of industrial workers on the island are one third the average industrial wage in the United States. Some 850,000 persons (approximately a third of the population) are forced to live from public charity, while a million Puerto Ricans have been forced by hunger to leave their homeland for the ghettos and slums of the United States where they are exploited still more ruthlessly and become victims of racial discrimination.

Meanwhile, in Puerto Rico, 1,200 shacks are thrown up each year in the cities; vices, prostitution, and all of the other evils generated by exploitation and colonialism, increase steadily.

### Independence struggle

Faced with this situation, a new struggle for independence has been launched to combat the ridiculous electoral campaign imposed on Puerto Rico by the Yankee imperialists. A militant abstention from the polls was the result of elections subsidized by the U.S. imperialists in 1964 as more than one third of those eligible to vote refused to participate in the electoral farce.

The opposition to these U.S.-sponsored electoral farces continues to increase along with the political struggle of the masses in their demand for national independence. The drafting of Puerto Rican youth into the U.S.

aggressor army is being opposed, as well as the sending of Puerto Ricans to fight in the war in Viet Nam. The struggle continues for the liberation of imprisoned patriots, for the withdrawal of Yankee military and atomic bases from Puerto Rican soil, against U.S. economic domination, and for the preservation of the Puerto Rican national culture and national language; in other words, the struggle continues for the right of Puerto Rico to decide her own destiny.

### Imperialist trickery

Yankee imperialism never ceases in its schemes to keep Puerto Rico, by every possible means, under colonial domination. Every known tactic has been used in order to maintain U.S. control: the unleashing of brutal repression, attempts to create divisions in the very heart of the anti-imperialist patriotic movement, the exacerbation of anti-communism, and the organizing of libelous and hysterical campaigns against the national liberation movements, attempts at bribery and blackmail; in sum, putting into play all of their too well-known schemes, which the history of the peoples' struggles has shown are doomed to defeat.

The latest large-scale scheme, also condemned to defeat, is the convocation of a so-called plebiscite in Puerto Rico for 1967. The story of this farce dates from 1962 when the U.S. Congress authorized the so-called "free associated state" of Puerto Rico to name six members of a 13-man "commission for the study of Puerto Rico's political status."

Naturally, from this commission, which exists by the grace of U.S. imperialism and includes 7 Yankees, 3 colonialists, 2 members of the group in favor of assimilation by the U.S. and one collaborationist (said to be an adherent of independence), little more could be expected than that it "recommend" exactly what the Yankee imperialists have ordered: a faked plebiscite in the colony of Puerto Rico.

### Declaration of MPI

The Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement has categorically stated that it will not permit the carrying out of this fraudulent scheme. When the Yankee imperialists invaded Puerto Rico, they did not hold a plebiscite to find out whether the people wanted to be invaded or not.

Why do they need to "know" the people's opinion in order to pack up their goods and leave Puerto Rico? The opinion of the Puerto Rican people has been clearly expressed on more than one occasion. The testimony of the blood shed by martyrs and patriots during the 68 years of struggle against Yankee imperialism is clear enough. The existence of imperialist jails where dozens of patriotic Puerto Ricans are imprisoned, some with sentences

of up to 475 years, speaks for itself: as does the vigorous political struggle of the masses, under the leadership of the Pro-Independence Movement, against the idiocy of colonial "elections."

The plebiscite suggested by Johnson via the so-called "commission for the study of the political status of Puerto Rico" would be held under the watchful eyes of 25,000 Yankee soldiers in a country where 13% of the best arable land has been turned over to military and nuclear missile bases under the control of 70 agencies which, in turn, are controlled by 13 U.S. government departments handling the operation of mails, customs, communications, immigration, educational system, industrial and agrarian policy, etc. Moreover, the U.S. Congress does not pledge itself to make good the results of such a farce. In other words: should "independence" win in the "plebiscite," the U.S. Congress does not promise to recognize Puerto Rico's independence.

#### World solidarity in support of Puerto Rican independence

The Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO calls upon all committees of solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to express their active solidarity with the Puerto Rican people in their just struggle for independence and to organize rallies of solidarity with Puerto Rico on September 23. It also calls for the unmasking of the crude farce that the U.S. Government intends to impose upon the Puerto Rican people in 1967 and to express their repudiation of the criminal imposition of the law of Compulsory Military Service in the U.S. army on all Puerto Rican youth.

Let us give the people of Puerto Rico our most determined moral and material support!

The Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO calls upon all committees of solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to implement the General Resolution of the Political Commission on Colonialism and Neocolonialism, as well as the Resolution on Puerto Rico, adopted by the First Tricontinental Conference, and to express their most determined moral and material support to the Puerto Rican people and their vanguard organization, the Pro-Independence Movement, in the struggle against Yankee colonialist domination.

Executive Secretariat of AALAPSO.

AGENDA OF THE FIRST LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE,  
AS APPROVED BY THE LASO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, OCTOBER 8, 1966<sup>1</sup>

Draft Agenda of the First Conference of LASO

I. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA

- a. Experiences with the various forms of revolutionary struggle. Armed insurrection in the process of national liberation of Latin America.
- b. Consideration of the specific struggles of the working class, the peasants, the student body, the intellectuals, and other progressive sectors with reference to the processes of national liberation.
- c. Eradication of all forms of colonialism in Latin America.

II. COMMON POSITION AND ACTION IN THE FACE OF POLITICO-MILITARY INTERVENTION AND ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL PENETRATION OF IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

- a. Politico-military intervention of Yankee imperialism in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. Imperialist policy of coordinated repression of liberation movements: the Organization of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Peace Force, the Central American Defense Council, and bases, missions, and other military pacts.
- b. Imperialist economic policy of penetration, subjecting and exploiting the Latin American countries. Its control mechanisms: financial resources and foreign trade.
- c. Imperialist policy of social and cultural ideological penetration as a part of its hemisphere-wide strategy. The struggle against all forms of discrimination in Latin America.
- d. Reform policy as a means of diluting social conflict and diverting the peoples from their true path: economic and political independence.

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1. Translated from the version published in the Spanish edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, October 7, 1966.

- e. The oligarchist and coup d'état policy of open repression of national liberation movements, through the continued exploitation of the Latin American peoples.
- f. The need to achieve a common strategy for all the Latin American revolutionary movements to overthrow the continental strategy which imperialism has planned in its eagerness to maintain its domination over the Latin American peoples.

III. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

- a. Anti-imperialist solidarity in Latin America.
- b. More effective aid to the peoples who are carrying on armed struggle against imperialism and colonialism.
- c. Support to the negroes of the United States in their struggle against racial segregation and in defense of their rights to equality and freedom.
- d. Support of the Cuban Revolution: struggle against the economic blockade, isolation, and other forms of Yankee imperialist aggression against the Cuban Revolution.

IV. STATUTES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (LASO)

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESO LATINOAMERICANO  
DE ESTUDIANTES (CLAE), AUGUST 11, 1966 1/

We, the representatives of the Latin American student movement, meeting in the IV CLAE, in Havana, Cuba, from July 29 to August 11, 1966, with the participation of 23 organizations invested with full powers and the presence of 7 observer organizations, 20 invited organizations, and two organizations present as guests of honor, having made an ample and exhaustive analysis of the topics on the agenda of this Congress in an atmosphere of brotherhood and unity based on comprehension and understanding, agree to declare that this IV CLAE has been a concentrated expression of the long, combative, and glorious revolutionary tradition of Latin American students. The successful realization of this Congress has been made possible by the efforts and the broad and unifying work of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist students of Latin America. We consider it our duty to report on our conclusions to our peoples, whose fighting spirit we embody, and to all the peoples of the world, to whom the human race binds us as brothers and whose struggles we accept as our own.

Firm action by the peoples strikes at the very heart of reactionary forces

We proclaim that this IV CLAE has been the most representative of those student congresses held until now.

We salute the large number of organizations participating in the Congress as full members, thus contributing to its amplitude and its representative character. Of particular interest is the inclusion for the first time of organizations representing countries still under colonial domination. These countries were ignored in the past as a consequence of the ceaseless activity of the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces that move surreptitiously within the student movement. But now their organizations are actively and permanently integrated into Latin American student forces, of which they form an indivisible part. This has been brought about by constant activity on the part of the progressive, revolutionary, and anti-imperialist forces among the Latin American students.

This Congress has convened in Cuba, Free Territory of America, at a moment when the enemy of all the peoples of the world--Yankee imperialism--is committing repeated provocations in an effort to destroy the Cuban Revolution and to limit the force of its magnificent example. It has been held in a world situation characterized by a constant increase in the tenacious action of the people to gain their complete and genuine national liberation. It has been held at a decisive moment of strong revolutionary content, in which permanent and profound transformations are splitting apart the foundations on which the entire social order of exploitation and subjection of the masses has rested throughout history.

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1. Taken from the English edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, August 14, 1966.

The tenacious, incontainable and overwhelming advance of the peoples strikes at the very heart of the forces of reaction. Imperialism rages and threatens, utters its final death groans, and in its state of desperation turns to all possible measures in a vain attempt to change the unalterable course of history. It employs its global strategy of cold war, local wars, limited wars; it intervenes in Viet Nam, Santo Domingo, Laos, Cambodia, and other countries; it sustains, encourages, and develops international tension; it covers the world with military bases; it establishes pacts that violate the principles of national sovereignty; it makes resources available to and directly participates in the "Holy Alliance" whereby colonial and imperialist powers seek to preserve their social order of exploitation; it does this to achieve a concordance allowing it to maintain its hegemony eternally.

The Yankee imperialists proclaim with arrogant cynicism, their "right" to intervene militarily in other countries; they look for formulas with which to legalize these interventions and to cover their true identity as "gendarmes" for international reaction. All of this serves to prove that the character and the aggressive nature of imperialism have not changed and that it will never voluntarily give up its policy of domination, exploitation, and destruction.

Students are seeking the path of liberation and reply to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence

Faced with this reality, the peoples--and the students, as an integral part of the whole--seek the road to liberation. And the major protagonists in history, they are responding decisively to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence.

The deliberations of the Congress have clearly shown that the specific situation of Latin America has become a part of the reality that the world knows today.

The history of Latin America is the history of the cruellest and the most merciless instance of foreign exploitation. Through centuries of pillaging this history was forged with blood and impregnated with heroism and energetic and vallant actions.

It dates from the aborigenes, who were decimated by the viciousness of the Old World powers, to the establishment of a new form of exploitation, more subtle and veiled, the neo-colonial exploitation of Yankee imperialism.

Today we see a chain of reactionary coups d'état, such as those that occurred in Brazil and Argentina, promoted by the U.S. Government and carried out by the "gorillas" that command the armies. These coups d'état attempt to make complete fascist states of our countries, so that the commanding force, national and international reaction, may continue to enjoy the fruits of the regimes threatened by popular uprisings.

Today, the "democratic-representative leaders" under whom the Latin Americans suffer, unleash their criminal fury on workers, farmers, students, and popular leaders. Today assassinations are occurring throughout all of Latin America; torture and every kind of abuse complement the Dantesque picture of hunger, misery, ignorance, and servitude engulfing the peoples of the Continent.

The struggle of the peoples has been long and costly but not in vain

The arbitrary occupation of the Dominican Republic by Yankee troops continues, prolonging their "ethical operation" of piracy and aggression. They are also attempting to create the so-called "Inter-American Peace Force," a repressive police force on a continental scale, directed against the independence and sovereignty of our countries an expedient for perpetrating new armed interventions in them, without the need to resort to the infamous OAS. This force is an imperialist instrument to be used for carrying out plans of aggression principally against the Cuban Revolution. The Leoni Government in Venezuela continues its assassinations, and seems determined to distinguish itself not only as a protective force for the domination and pillaging exercised by imperialism in that country but also as the guide of a criminal repressive line directed against revolutionary movements. Outrages continue in Guatemala, where a government resulting from conditions imposed by U.S. imperialism and its national lackeys vainly attempts to halt the progress of armed rebellion.

But the people learn a truth that the reactionaries usually forget. The fight for our rights, for our independence and dignity, to overcome misery, ignorance, and oppression, has been long and costly. It has been, we repeat, long and costly, but not in vain.

We have learned to recognize the enemy and his cynical conduct. We have learned to recognize the forms of fighting that will bring us victory. For many years reformist and pseudo-revolutionary organizations (APRA, Democratic Action, etc.) preached to us of erroneous conduct, attempting to conceal the eminently violent character of the oppression, to impede the consequent development of rebellion and the attainment of its fruit: VICTORY.

It is an attempt to keep us submissive and in vassalage through the use of violence, an obvious fact that many pretend not to be aware of. It is brutal violence, systematic, daily. It is violence against all who dare protest, against all who denounce the subhuman conditions in which the popular masses in our countries live, against all who fight for their rights and try to achieve independence and dignity. Against the violence of the enemy we must pit revolutionary violence. We must respond to systematic repression and abuse, with armed rebellion, with an intensified frontal attack, as is being increasingly waged by the heroic guerrillas in the mountains of America, with an increase in action by the masses and the student movement, intensifying the relentless action that extends from the mountains to the plains. The Cuban Revolution

is our example. The valiant combatants who in several of our countries have taken up arms to sweep away every vestige of imperialist exploitation are showing us the way.

The struggle of students for their rights is indissolubly linked to the liberation struggles of their peoples

The penetration of imperialism in Latin America is particularly powerful in the realm of culture and education. It is no accident that illiteracy in our countries is at an alarming level; that there is a chronic lack of schools and educational institutions, that our universities are inadequate and outmoded and do not respond to the needs of the Latin American peoples; that culture, in general, is beyond the reach of the workers and peasants. Our cultural and scholastic poverty is a direct consequence of imperialist penetration and the deformation of the economic structure of our countries, which is inevitably reflected in cultural deformity. Thus, it is necessary to stress that Latin American students suffer the same ills as their peoples. They are victims of the same oppression and, what is more important, must fight the same fight as their peoples for national liberation, the only social foundation upon which a different life to eliminate once and for all poverty, backwardness and exploitation, may be built.

The struggle of the students for their rights and demands is inseparably connected with the struggle of the peoples for liberation and against imperialism. This is the conviction of the participants in the present Congress, who know the imperialist enemy well.

WE SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM our duty and our right to struggle at the side of our peoples against Yankee imperialism and those who serve it.

WE SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM the duty and the right of Latin American students to fight staunchly for the furtherance of the revolutionary movement; to struggle for the genuine liberation of their peoples, making use of all means necessary to achieve this; and to hold high the banners of their rights, with the strategic purpose of totally destroying the system of imperialist domination.

We solemnly proclaim that armed struggle constitutes today the most effective and proper form of combat

WE SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM that in this revolutionary struggle, in view of the present-day reality of the great majority of our countries and the future prospects of all of them, armed struggle constitutes the most effective and consequential form of combat against imperialism. We call for the determined and unyielding development of this armed struggle. In spite of transitory defeats and difficulties, what matters is confidence in sure victory, and faith in the road chosen: a road that is hard and full of sacrifice, but real, effective, full also of triumphs and, most important of all, that leads inevitably to victory.

WE SOLEMNLY DECLARE that in answer to the continent-wide strategy of aggression, repression and exploitation, we must reply with a continent-wide strategy of revolutionary struggle, and especially armed struggle, in order to destroy imperialism. We claim our posts of combat in this battle, knowing the sacrifices involved, because we are confident of victory.

In this spirit we hail the creation of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) which constitutes an effective step toward the application and development of a common strategy and the establishment of a united front for the confrontation with imperialism. We consider that this has been an historic step forward in the determination of a fitting line of anti-imperialist combat.

We proclaim our support of the resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference

WE PROCLAIM our unconditional support of the resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference, which are genuine expressions of the sentiments and needs of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism and, in particular, Yankee imperialism. The Tricontinental Conference is the most complete expression of the militant unity among peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who struggle for liberation.

WE PROCLAIM our solidarity with the peoples of other continents who are valiantly resisting Yankee imperialism, or who are defeating it militarily and politically in a display of extraordinary heroism, as in the case of Viet Nam.

Today, the struggle of the Vietnamese people is of special significance: they hold, above all, a forward position in the great universal epic of the peoples. They are contributing decisively to raising the level of revolutionary consciousness and struggle among the masses, against imperialism and for national liberation.

WE REAFFIRM the decision of Latin American students to fight at the side of the heroic Vietnamese people against the Yankee aggressor.

WE PROCLAIM our solidarity with all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world, with all those who struggle for their liberty against imperialism and who initiate with their struggle the construction of the world of the future.

Presented in Havana, Cuba, August 11, 1966

RESOLUTION ON ARMED STRUGGLE, CONGRESO LATINOAMERICANO  
DE ESTUDIANTES (CLAE), AUGUST 11, 1966

WHEREAS:

1. The misery and oppression to which the peoples of the Americas are subjected is caused by the predatory policy of imperialism and mainly of Yankee imperialism;
2. Repressive armed forces constitute the principal arm of state power in Latin America;
3. This situation has forced the peoples of the Americas to use every form of struggle, and especially armed struggle, as the firmest expression of the peoples' fight for National Liberation.
4. In this struggle being waged by the peoples of the Americas, students have played an effective part and have fought in the front lines of combat.
5. Armed struggle is the highest expression of the peoples' revolutionary fight, demanding the greatest amount of sacrifice and the most effective form of solidarity.
6.
  - a. In all dependent countries of Latin America, without exception, the triumph of revolutionary power can only be achieved by revolutionary violence.
  - b. At present, in the majority of the dependent countries of Latin America, the maximum conditions for revolution already are present and a revolutionary solution exists.
  - c. In the majority of these countries, armed struggle should now be the principal form of struggle.

WE THEREFORE AGREE:

To salute the struggles that the peoples of the Americas are waging against U.S.-led imperialism for their independence and national liberation.

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1. Taken from the English edition of the official newspaper Granma, Havana, August 14, 1966.

To give unconditional support to the armed struggle being waged by the peoples of Latin America, who are answering the reactionary violence imposed by Yankee imperialism with revolutionary violence.

To consider that the winning of political power in different countries of Latin America for the benefit of the popular masses cannot be achieved by electoral means nor by parliamentary procedures, but only through revolutionary violence that overthrows the dominating classes.

To salute and to express our support of those students who form part of guerrilla detachments in Latin America.