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STATUS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
INADMISSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS
OF STATES AND THE PROTECTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND
SOVEREIGNTY

Letter dated 16 December 1966 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Addendum

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIRST SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES
OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

REPUBLICA DE CUBA

MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES

A N E X O

RESOLUTIONS

*of the
First Solidarity
Conference
of the Peoples
of Africa, Asia and Latin America*

ECONOMIC COMMISSION

GENERAL RESOLUTION APPROVED BY THE ECONOMIC
COMMISSION ON JANUARY 11, 1966

The Economic Commission of the Tricontinental Conference, met in Havana from January 3 to 15, 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 attain 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 labour 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 mono-production 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 amortisation and usurious 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 favour 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 neo-colonialism implies the full development of their natural resources and their industrialisation;

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 neo-colonialism, 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) nationalisation 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 industrialisation, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in each country;

6.—That the countries liberated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism must develop their national economies based on self-reliance, that is: the maximum and rational utilisation of their own economic, physical and human resources, complemented with the efficient and rational utilisation 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 mobilisation 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 neo-colonialism, and to struggle in every way, joining its forces and coordinating a genuine

economic action, to protect and consolidate their economic independence and free the masses of the people from all oppression;

FAVOURS:

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 utilised 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 amortisations 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 subsidise 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 generalised, non-reciprocal, preferential measures in favour 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 neo-colonial 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 organisations which act as instruments for the control of the economy of the countries of Africa, Asia 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 peasants and a decisive step in favour 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 accelerate by all possible means the process of agrarian reform and the building of an independent national economy in their countries, as a means of developing the revolution in the world, and of restoring dignity to Man in Africa, Asia and Latin America;

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.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF THE UNITED STATES UPON CUBA

The Conference condemns the imperialist economic blockade imposed by the United States upon militant Cuba, and urges the United States to lift this imperialist blockade immediately.

The Conference also stresses the need of socialist States and countries of the Third World to expand and promote their economic relations with Cuba in view to breaking this aggressive block-

ade and help Cuba to overcome this obstacle and carry on its socialist build-up.

The Conference takes into consideration that putting an end to this imperialist blockade and the success of the Cuban Revolution is the concern not only of militant Cuba but also of the progress of all Afro-Asian-Latin American countries and the future of World Peace.

RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANISATION COMMISSION

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

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 reenforcing 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 Organisation.

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 organise the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents and serve as permanent link among the different movements which are members of the organisation;

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 Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

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 Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which will be held in 1968 in the city of Cairo, United Arab Republic. This Second Tricontinental will decide the seat of the Organisation.
- c) To present before the Second Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America the draft for the

final structure of the Tricontinental Organisation.

- 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 Organisation, especially those which encourage armed struggle as

lawful defence 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 organise 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.

POLITICAL COMMISSION

GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The First Solidarity Conference 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 Tricontinental solidarity is necessary to face the increasingly aggressive policy of imperialism, especially North American imperialism. 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 Solidarity Conference 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 opposes imperialist exploitation and its aggressive policy, and endeavours to consolidate their independence and defend their sovereignty.

The successful battles waged by the peoples against imperialist domination are gradually weakening its foundations; in South Vietnam 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 unsuccessful efforts to crush the revolution in Africa. The Cuban Revolution is stronger every day and advances in the construction of social-

ism, defeating the aggressive policy of the United States.

The Cairo Afro-Asian Conference, held in 1958, was the natural result of the historic 1955 Bandung Conference and the principles it upheld. The Bandung principles acquired a popular and broadly revolutionary meaning in this Cairo Conference, when the peoples of the Afro-Asian continents gathered for the first time under the flag of solidarity 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 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 favoured 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 tremendous 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 favourable conditions than ever for the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The strengthening of the world socialist system and the overwhelming development of National Liberation Movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America hastened the disintegration 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 their 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 Vietnam 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 Belgian 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-shek 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 Nazi 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 as 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 Vietnam, 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 it 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 more 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 people such as that of Vietnam, 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 conditions determines 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, to prevent 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 higher stages, to achieve final victory.

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, where 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 Vietnam, where the United States, upon increasing their intervention, create the conditions for a later and more overwhelming defeat. But the struggle should not be limited to Vietnam. 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 Vietnam 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 people'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 Organisation 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 sover-

eighty, 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 Vietnam are the most outstanding manifestation of the aggressive world strategy of Yankee imperialism.

The invading Yankee forces in Vietnam and their puppet troops have competed with—if not surpassed—the barbaric actions of Hitler's hordes. Mutilations, savage tortures, mass assassinations, destruction of defenceless villages and of 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 ag-

gressions 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 Vietnam.

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 Vietnam and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and appeals to all peoples to fight for their implementation as the only acceptable solution to the situation in Vietnam.

The defence 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 defence 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 fake "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 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 the 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, which 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 to 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 to the heroic patriots who are fighting in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, and to 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 *de facto* rulers in Leopoldville.

In all these cases we denounce the support by the Federal Republic 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 international 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 practises in the Antilles, French Guiana and Reunion.

The Conference denounces the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (A. M. C. O.), the African version of the Organisation of American States (OAS), raised by French imperialism in complete accord with U. S. imperialism. The recent turbulent events in the member countries of this Organisation, expose 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 dismantling of the British military bases located in Aden and Cyprus and North American bases established in the territory of Saudi Arabia, which constitute a serious threat to the peoples in this area. We also call for solidarity of all peoples with the Arab population 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 imperialist or any other foreign power, to exercise the right to determine 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, Colombia, 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 and with very few weapons the thousands of Yankee marines and airborne troops, need the most energetic support from all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Puerto Rico remains under the colonial domination of North American imperialism, that not only denies it 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 and neo-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 Solidarity Conference of the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America is the highest acknowledgement 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 receives 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 unleashed 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 Panama Canal Zone 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 Puerto Rico, it forms the Caribbean triangle. This is done against the will of the Panamanian people, who have suffered the aggression of Yankee troops for demanding 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, the 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 Vietnam. 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 peoples 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.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America,

Considering: The historic significance of the Cuban Revolution for the developments for national liberation in these three continents;

Considering: 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, and that 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, mer-

cenary invasion, provocation from the Yankee military base arbitrarily located in its territory, acts of vandalism, and by maintaining a real 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 Giron, 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;

RESOLVES:

To express its full support to the Cuban Revolution, as a significant far-reaching event for the national liberation movement 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, organisation 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 Guantanamo 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;

DECLARES: 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.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE SO-CALLED INTER-AMERICAN PEACE FORCE AND THE GOVERNMENTS THAT SUPPORT IT

The First Solidarity Conference 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 who 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 hated 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 a 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 crimes perpetrated by Yankee imperialism with the participation of the Latin-American puppet troops, by labelling as peace its aggression 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 impose 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, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, that submissively have lent themselves to the savage occupation of the Dominican Republic, have humiliated their own peoples with their anti-national and treacherous behaviour, contrary to the

great patriotic and revolutionary tradition of Latin America;

RESOLVES:

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 governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica that have landed their troops on Dominican soil, against the will of their own peoples, carrying out the command of Yankee imperialism.

RESOLUTION ON THE INTER-AMERICAN PEACE FORCE

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 on, the Inter-American Peace Force has been increasing its military strength under the actual 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 body 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 body constitutes the organised union of the reactionary military officers of Latin America and its creation is in 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 Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America condemns the action of the Inter-Amer-

ican Peace Force and agrees to offer militant solidarity to the peoples who are facing and will face it as a neces-

sary corollary of their aspirations of liberty, sovereignty and self-determination.

RESOLUTION ON THE O. A. S.

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America declares:

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, is 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 Organisation and the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, thus binding the Organisation 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 a mere appendix of the aggressive North American foreign policy.
6. That in 1954 the Organisation of American States impudently violated its own Charter, brutally tram-
pling on 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 Giron.
8. That with the complicity of the Organisation of American States, dozens of piratical attacks were launched from military bases located in the United States and in countries of the Caribbean, scores of provocations and armed aggressions have been carried out from the Guantanamo 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 Bogota.
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 Bogota, 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 abject actions of the OAS, servile instrument of the policy of economic, political and military domination of Yankee imperialism in Latin America,

PROCLAIM:

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 to any agreements or treaties of the Organisation of American States, particularly the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and those that deny in practise the principles of non-intervention, self-determination, sovereignty, 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 THE 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 January 3 to 15, 1966,

Aware: That the House of Representatives of the United States of America has adopted 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 ar-

rogate 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 self determination;

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 to legalise their piratical actions;

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 and they:

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 their support to the principle of total respect for 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.

GENERAL RESOLUTION ON WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966,

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,

AGREES:

To denounce the close relationship 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 peoples.

RESOLUTION ON THE USE OF GURKHAS BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND OTHER COUNTRIES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia 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 practises and demands that the

Nepalese Government 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.

RESOLUTION 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 Vietnam. The Seventh Fleet is being used in a vain attempt to crush the liberation struggle of the brave people of South Vietnam. It is using the bases and troops of the military pact members against the people of Vietnam.

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:

1. That all aggressive military pacts and alliances be abrogated;
2. That all foreign military bases be dismantled;
3. That all foreign troops be withdrawn.

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY BASES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from January 3 to 15, 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 are, at the same time, 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;

Persuaded: That these military bases are 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 its troops in foreign countries where the people have expressed their opposition, and where great mass movements in favour 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, 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;

Condemns: The existence of military bases and the presence of troops in foreign countries;

Demands: The immediate withdrawal of all troops, the dismantling of the military bases and the restitution of the territories encroached;

Recognises: The right of the peoples and governments to refuse to accept the maintenance in their territories of such means of pressure, which attempt against their sovereignty and supports the struggle for their definitive liquidation;

Calls: On 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;

Denounces: With the greatest energy the schemes of the imperialist powers, that have forcibly imposed upon the recently-emancipated countries such treaties that legalise the maintenance of bases and the presence of troops for the purpose of perpetuating their domination and of threatening the security of other peoples;

Supports: 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.

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

The Tricontinental Conference takes note of the preparation 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, Chagos, 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.

PARTIAL RESOLUTION ON MILITARY BASES

All foreign military bases are tools in the hands of the imperialists to maintain colonialism and neo-colonialism, to perpetuate the imperialist way of life as is shown adequately by the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, the case

of Cyprus and the Federation of South Arabia and others, to contain and obstruct the national growth of the developing countries, in the pursuit of their respective national identities.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING 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 victimised 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 unrestricted respect for the principle

of self-determination of the nations and sovereignty of all states, big and small.

The defence of the principle of peaceful coexistence conveys the repulse of imperialistic aggression, of the criminal use of force against the people and of the decisive repulse of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other states, all of which represents 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 victimised peoples, they are keeping alive the principle of peaceful coexistence.

RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL WEEK OF SOLIDARITY

On the annual celebration of the week of solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism;

Considering: The international situation, characterised by the expansion of imperialist aggressions, headed by 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, who are carrying out struggle for independence and economic liberation;

Recognising: The historical importance of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia 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:

To celebrate annually, from January 3 to 10, the International Week of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, in honour of the First Solidarity Conference of the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Conference calls upon all anti-imperialist forces, progressive and democratic organisations 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.

GENERAL RESOLUTION ON EL MEHDI BEN BARKA

Considering: That Comrade El Mehdi Ben Barka, leader of the National Union of People's Forces of Morocco and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Tricontinental Conference, was kidnapped 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 Head of State has given his own personal formal assurances that investigations will be conducted to the end with diligence and firmness;

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

Denounces: The hideous crime against our comrade Ben Barka, which can only serve the interests of imperialism and reaction;

Pays: A vibrant and fraternal homage to Mehdi 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;

Demands: That this tragic affair be elucidated and that any guilty parties, whether they be in Morocco, France or anywhere else be mercilessly punished;

Notes: The solemn commitment of President De Gaulle that the investigation be pursued regardless of its implications and consequences;

Declares: 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.

RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTITUTION OF A COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARITY WITH EL MEHDI BEN BARKA

In view of the fact that the kidnaping of El Mehdi Ben Barka, leader of the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco and president of the Organising Committee of the Tricontinental Conference, is an offense to all revolutionary movements of the Third World;

In view of the fact that the fate of our comrade is still unknown and that there are alarming news which make us fear the worst, since three months have already elapsed since his disappearance;

In view of the fact that the search

for him may take longer than is expected;

The Conference decides to create a Committee of Solidarity with Ben Barka, presided by the National Union of Popular Forces with the purpose of trying all means in order to establish the true facts of this affair.

The executive organisation which will be created by this Conference will undertake the implementation of the necessary measures for the establishment of that Committee, in cooperation with the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco.

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, neo-colonialism and imperialism, practised 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 subjected. The Conference especially acknowledges and welcomes

the increasing popular movements in the United States against the interventionist and aggressive war launched by the North American Government in Vietnam, and urges the peoples 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 Solidarity Conference 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, meeting in Havana, a few miles from the coast of the United States, wish to send our message of solidarity and stimulus to the North American people for the struggle they carry on against the war and aggressive 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 Johnson administration.

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 their Government.

We congratulate the youth of your country who, risking unjust prosecution and punishment, refuse to become accomplices of the crime of genocide perpetrated by Johnson's Government against the Vietnamese people, and who 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 colour 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 organisations, 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 spokesmen talk of liberty and democracy, but at the same time use, against the people of Vietnam, the hideous napalm and white phosphorous toxic gas, cynically called "benevolent incapacitator", and commit every crime in their fruitless efforts to crush an indomitable people who will not stop their heroic fight until they have achieved victory.

The participants in the Conference view with satisfaction how the dif-

ferent 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 warmongering clique understand that none of their vandalic acts will remain unpunished. It is necessary that North American mothers prevent their sons from being sent to our countries as cannon fodder to defend the selfish interests of a few score of privileged men. It is necessary that the youth of your country 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 through their struggles, in the untiring fight to defeat the common enemy of the peoples of the world, namely North American imperialism.

RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 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, is another manifestation of the exploitation of man by man;

2. That the Afro-Americans have the universal and inalienable right to legitimate defence, 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 widespread 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 riots 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 Tricontinental Organisation 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;

RESOLVES:

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.

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION ON COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

The First Solidarity Conference 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, 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 a formal independence 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 includes 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 re-enforce its economic domination.

Imperialism uses the old ruling classes for its domination, the so-called bourgeois compradores, certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie which it

controls through financial instruments, and it even deceives and subdues 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 stimulated, of 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 economic, military and cultural aspects as well.

A first important characteristic is joint colonialism. Formerly, each imperialist power resolved by itself the

problems of its colonies, opposing the interference of other powers in what was considered its "sphere of influence". This was the case of the European colonial powers in Africa and in Asia. 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 drive 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. If in 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 nationalisation of the Suez Canal, British and French imperialists, with the support of Israel, even resorted 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 Vietnam, 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 for the defence of their common class interests. 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 four 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 unrealisable 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 the opposite, of their 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 means 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 also 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: it has at its disposal, in addition to its own funds, those of the underdeveloped countries who are members of those institutions, and it does not appear as directly imposing burdensome political and economic conditions on these nations.

An example of this utilisation 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 apparently impressive total allocated?

One third of the loans went to the Union of South Africa for the construction and modernising of communications, so as to facilitate the export to the United States of uranium and other strategic materials; for payment of the electric power installations, turbogenerators 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 Miniere 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 dollars per year.

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 analysed 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 by 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 Solidarity Conference 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 Tome, 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 practised by French imperialism in respect to the population of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Reunion;

2.—The active and dynamic solidarity with the countries suffering the aggression of imperialists and particularly North American imperialism; in the first place, this solidarity must express itself in relation to Vietnam, the centre 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 its 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;

To 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, Lybia 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 Niger, 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 increasing liberation struggle, it is a right and a duty of the peoples who are attacked, to employ revolutionary violence. To uphold with solidarity this struggle in the case of each country and 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, which is necessary for guaranteeing victory over imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the three continents, is also a right and a duty of all the peoples;

5.—To reaffirm solemnly the ten 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 Vietnam;

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 service;

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 favours reactionary "coups d'etat" in Latin America, Africa and Asia to impose governments subdued by Washington, as in the cases of Ecuador, Honduras and Guatemala, or any other imperialist powers as in the case of some countries in Africa, and to proclaim solidarity with the peoples 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 meas-

ures 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, submitting 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 maintains deals 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 Vietnam;

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 of 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.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The Tricontinental 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.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference condemns the fascist regime of apartheid as the most brutal and barbaric system of racist and national oppression existing in the world today.

The African people are subjected to the worst form of colonial exploitation and slavery conditions under a special type of colonialism exercised by the white minority in South Africa.

Verwoerd's apartheid regime maintains its fascist dominion over the African and non-white peoples in South Africa, through the terror and violence exercised by the police and with unrestricted militarism.

The Verwoerd regime, in complicity with the white racist government of Southern Rhodesia, the fascist Portuguese colonialists of Mozambique and Angola, with the support of international imperialism, is a serious threat to world peace and security.

This Conference considers the bitter and hard militant revolutionary struggle carried on by the people of South Africa for the ousting of the Verwoerd

regime and for liberty and human dignity, an important part of the world's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

This Conference urges all the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents to occupy their places in the campaign for international solidarity, in order to impose economic, political and cultural sanctions and place an embargo on petroleum and arms, against the white minority government of South Africa.

Furthermore, it urges all anti-imperialist forces to compel the business partners of South Africa, i.e., Great Britain, U. S. A., France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy and Japan to impose these sanctions.

This Conference vigorously and urgently exhorts all anti-imperialist and democratic organisations of the world to give their full material support to the fighters for the liberty of South Africa, thus contributing to the most effective accomplishment of their armed revolutionary struggle.

RESOLUTION ON ANGOLA

The First Tricontinental 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 Tricontinental 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 strengthen their support 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, by all possible means, including the supply of arms.

The Tricontinental 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.

RESOLUTION ON THE ARAB PENINSULA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Supports the struggle of the people of the Arab Peninsula, under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Front, for the realisation of the following aims:

1. Liberation of the Arab Peninsula from the imperialist Saudi Arabian regime.
2. Establishment of a 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, the so-called Saudi Arabia, and 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 of a democratic system of government; and the prevalence of disease, poverty, ignorance and demands the immediate release of political prisoners and those now under arrest;

Considers the appellation "Saudi Ara-

bia", 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.

RESOLUTION 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 affairs of all the neighbouring countries,

Vehemently condemns the British government for conniving with the Verwoerd government to place in power puppet governments 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.

RESOLUTION ON BRAZIL

The question of neo-colonialism takes on new characteristics with the April 1, 1964, military coup in Brazil.

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 paralise 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.

RESOLUTION ON BURUNDI

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, gathered in Havana, (Cuba) from January 3 to 15, 1966, greets the workers and youth of Burundi, organised in

the Workers' Federation of Burundi, (W. F. B.) and the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth (R.N.Y.) who after a year are still deprived of their syndical and democratic rights.

It has noted with indignation the arbitrary arrest and the imprisonment without trial of labour leader Agustin Ntamagara and youth leaders Francois Bangemu and Prime Niyongabo, despite the many protests of different international organisations.

The Delegates to the First Tricontinental Conference, on behalf of the peoples of the three continents that they represent:

Demand the immediate rehabilitation of the Workers' Federation of Burundi and of the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth;

RESOLUTION ON CAMEROON

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America convened in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966,

Considering the war of genocide that the repressive troops of French neo-colonialism are waging against the people of Cameroon;

Considering the diabolic efforts of the reactionary government of Cameroon to increase the imperialist troops, maintain French military bases in the country, enroll mercenaries from the OAS, as well as former Nazis, aimed to repress the people of Cameroon, and to increase every year the number of imperialist technicians who control the State, the administration and the national economy;

Considering the fascist policy of the puppet regime of Yaounde, characterised by the lack of freedom of opinion, of association, of press, syndical freedom or other elementary forms of democratic liberties;

Considering the arbitrary arrests and imprisonments of the patriots that take place daily in Cameroon, as well as the illegal confinement of more than 40,000 patriots in governmental forced labor camps and prisons of Cameroon;

Considering the systematic and joint re-colonisation of the country organised by the imperialist powers belonging to the European Common Market, especially France, West Germany, Great Britain

Demand from the Burundi government the respect for liberties, established in the conventions of the International Labour Organisation, which Burundi has subscribed, and the respect for the democratic liberties established by the constitution;

Demand the freedom of Agustin Ntamagara, Secretary General of the Workers' Federation of Burundi, Francois Bangemu and Prime Niyongabo, President and Secretary General, respectively, of the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth.

and the United States of America, particularly characterised by the submission of the government of Ahmadou Ahidjo, the penetration of the monopolies of the imperialist powers in the basic sectors of the national economy;

Considering the acute impoverishment of the popular masses, increased unemployment, growing illiteracy, disease and other social disasters:

Denounces the aggression carried out by French imperialist forces against the people of Cameroon through the puppet government of Yaounde;

Condemns the fascist actions of the reactionary government of Ahidjo that deprives the people of Cameroon of their fundamental liberties and surrenders to imperialism the essence of national sovereignty;

Demands the withdrawal of the imperialist troops, the dismantling of the foreign military bases, the immediate freedom of the political prisoners, the suspension of arbitrary arrests and of judicial processes, as well as the unconditional amnesty of the patriots who are victims of arbitrary treatments;

Demands from the organisations participating in this Tricontinental Conference that they join the campaign for the deliberation of the political prisoners of Cameroon, according to the appeal made by the International Association of Democratic Jurists;

Makes a vibrant appeal to all the anti-

imperialist forces of the world to grant effective aid to the patriots of Cameroon who are engaged in the struggle against

the aggressive imperialist forces and against the fascist dictatorship of Cameroon.

RESOLUTION ON THE FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE CONGO (L)

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Warns that mercenary troops of native traitors, incessantly supported by North American imperialism with its Belgian allies, intervene in the internal affairs of the Congolese people and support the *de facto* Leopoldville government hindering the liberation struggle of that fraternal people and favouring activities which impede the liberation process undertaken by the Congolese patriots, who have vowed not to make any kind of compromise with North American imperialism, the sworn enemy of the peoples;

Considering the necessity that progressive governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America effectively support the liberation struggles of the Congolese people, and oppose the permanent aggressions of North American imperialism and its Belgian allies,

Condemns the permanent intervention of North American imperialism and its Belgian allies against the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Congo;

Calls on the governments of progressive states of the three continents to support and offer aid to the liberation struggle that the Congolese patriots maintain against North American imperialism, its Belgian allies, mercenary traitors and the *de facto* Leopoldville government.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRITISH GUIANA

This Tricontinental Conference condemns the emergency government of British Guiana and the acts of imprisonment without previous trial; and urges Great Britain and the Govern-

ment of British Guiana to put an end to the state of emergency, and to uphold the democratic rights and liberties established in the Constitution of British Guiana.

RESOLUTION ON GUADELOUPE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Considering: that Guadeloupe is kept in a state of dependency by French imperialism;

Considering: the existence of a colonial situation characterised by violence and economic, political, social and cultural oppression;

Considering: the existence of a machinery of oppression and repression, 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 co-

lonisation resulting from the French "Law of Departmentalisation" of March 19, 1946;

Considering: the risks that the existence of colonialist and neo-colonialist bases in the area means to the countries in the Caribbean and Latin America;

Condemns: 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.

RESOLUTION ON HAITI

The Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America 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 that practise of detentions, tortures and the massacre of entire families because 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.

RESOLUTION PROTESTING THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS IN INDONESIA

The historical First Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference taking place in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966, attended by delegates from many countries and observers of international organisations and countries, with profound concern has been following the recent developments in Indonesia.

The developments are 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 have split the anti-imperialist national united front which has given important contributions 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 peo-

ples' solidarity. They are now stepping up and intensifying an 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, tens 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 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 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 very long suffering from the ruling anti-people groups and were steeled in 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 imperialists 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.

RESOLUTION ON JAMAICA

Aware of the struggles of the Jamaican people for over 300 years against the oppressive and exploitative domination under British colonial rule, and

Realising that the political independence gained by Jamaica in 1962 has merely meant the transfer of power from direct colonial rule to the hands of a small reactionary property-owning class in Jamaica, which continues to serve the interests of British and Amer-

ican imperialism at the expense of the Jamaican people, and

Conscious of the fact that the so-called "independence" has meant no change or improvement in the lives and material conditions of the poor and exploited masses of the Jamaican people, and that the Jamaican people are dissatisfied and fed up with the present unequal and unjust system of class exploitation, and

Aware that under the present system,

and with the complicity of the ruling clique in Jamaica, the wealth produced by the Jamaican workers is owned by the British and American imperialists through their monopolies in Jamaica whose profits are shipped abroad, with no benefit for the Jamaican workers;

Be it resolved that the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America condemns the neo-colonial exploitation and oppression of the Jamaican people by British and American imperialists and upholds the right

of the Jamaican people to take whatever steps may be necessary, to swiftly terminate this exploitation and oppression and obtain the ownership and control of the wealth of their country which is produced by their own labour.

The Conference encourages and supports all actions of the Young Socialist League and Unemployed Workers Council in heightening the consciousness of the Jamaican people for the swift and effective overthrow of the present unjust system and neo-colonialist yoke.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia 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 realisation of independence, peace and democracy;

Fully supports the Japanese people in their struggle against the U. S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Japan-South Korea 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 atomic bomb victims,

Supports the convocation of the 12th World Conference against A and H Bombs which will be held in Japan, in August of this year.

RESOLUTION ON "MALAYSIA"

"Malaysia" is a U.S.-British neo-colonialist product. Huge military naval and air bases in "Malaysia" form the backbone of the U.S.-British global strategy "East of Suez" and aim at suppression of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Malaya (including Singapore) and Kalimantan Utara, at intimidation and subversion of the people of Indonesia, and at aggression of other countries in the whole region.

This Conference firmly supports the people of Malaya (including Singapore)

and Kalimantan Utara in their just struggle for national liberation.

The recent proclamation of the phoney "independence" of Singapore following its separation from "Malaysia" was only an imperialist plot to save "Malaysia" from total collapse and an attempt to stabilise the U. S.-British imperialist "rear" in S. E. Asia for expansion and escalation of the U. S. war of aggression in Vietnam to the rest of Indo-China and to China itself.

RESOLUTION ON MOROCCO

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Denounces the trend of the rulers of 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 Mehdi Ben Barka;

Verifies the deterioration of the economic and social situation which has made more acute the impoverishment of the masses and underdevelopment, 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 their 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.

RESOLUTION ON MARTINIQUE AND FRENCH GUIANA

The Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America firmly condemns the colonial regime imposed by the French Government in territories of its ancient empires such as Martinique, Guiana and Reunion, as well as the political repression carried out in those countries.

The Conference denounces the trickery of the French Government which tends to make world public opinion and particularly that of Africa, Asia and Latin America, believe that it has completely finished the decolonisation of the countries that were under its rule, and that Martinique, Guiana and Reunion are French overseas departments.

The Conference affirms that the existing problem today in those so-called overseas departments is essentially a political one, namely that of the colonisation of those countries.

The Conference unconditionally supports the united struggle of the anti-colonialist forces of Martinique, Guiana and Reunion that ask for the substitution of the present status by one of autonomy that recognises the right of the peoples of those countries to conduct their own affairs.

The Tricontinental Conference denounces the grave threat which the installation of a missile base signifies not only for Guiana, but also for the whole Latin American continent.

RESOLUTION ON NICARAGUA

The participants in the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, gathered in the city of Havana:

Denounce the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, imposed by the United States on

Nicaragua in 1914, in order to construct a canal in its territory, thus lessening its sovereignty and deserving the strong repulse of the progressive forces of Nicaragua.

RESOLUTION ON NIGER

Considering: That after more than six years the people of Niger still lives under the terror which characterises the present regime imposed by the French forces of repression;

Considering: That on March 8, 1960 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 and Boubou Hama clique;

Considering: That there has been an almost total lack of freedom of expression or assembly, of trade union, political or social organisations 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 for more than four years several leaders of the Sawaba Party, as Adamou Sekou, former Minister of Public Works and member of the Political Bureau, Hima Dembele, former Deputy, Assana Mayaki, Aboubacar 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,

have been held in the neo-colonialist gaols of Niger;

Considering: That the present regime's clique, panic-stricken by the actions of the Niger militants, employs all the old methods of fascist repression, public executions, hangings, night murders, rapes, etc.;

Considering: That the U. S. A. have supplied a 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 organisations;

The immediate and unconditional liberation of thousands of political prisoners who have been held in prison for many years;

The immediate ending of mass and individual murders and a total amnesty for all political prisoners.

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.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

This Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America notes with deep concern the recent and continuous events in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which resulted in the loss of many properties and lives.

We condemn unequivocally the rigged elections and the consequent imposition of the regime on the people which has been directly responsible for these events.

We further condemn the role of the

Federal Government under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa and particularly the use of the Army and police to terrorise the common people by the display of naked brutality against the resentment of the people which is mounting.

We condemn their inability to face the ballot box and to contest a fair and free election.

In view of the fact that Nigeria today is passing through a period of acute both political and economic crisis, in order to replace the present reactionary regime, we support the popular front of all the progressive forces of Nigeria called "The peoples' front".

In view of the reactionary nature of the Nigerian government, they handed over our patriotic comrades from the

Niger Republic, Cameroon and Senegal to be imprisoned and murdered.

We condemn the neo-colonialists headed by the U. S. war mongering imperialists in their intensifying efforts to turn Nigeria into the main stronghold of neo-colonialism in Africa.

We condemn the Governments of the Federation of Nigeria as the headquarters of all forces of reaction and subversion against Africa.

We condemn the same for the intensification of British, West German and U.S. economic stronghold on Nigeria.

We call on this Conference, in view of the strategic position of Nigeria, to take note of the great threat imperialism possesses against African, Asian and Latin American peoples.

RESOLUTION ON OMAN

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America condemns the barbarous action of the British Government against the people of Oman;

Calls for the immediate removal of

British troops and the return of democratic rights to the people of Oman;

Recognises the inalienable right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

As a military base, Israel was used in 1948 to expel the rightful Arab owners of Palestine. It was used in 1956 against the great revolution of Egypt to protect the interests of the imperialists in the Suez Canal. In 1963, Israel was used to crush the revolutionary force in Congo and to help Moise Tshombe, the imperialist stooge and agent par excellence in Africa. Israel was called upon by its imperialist masters to send regiments of paratroopers to fight against the revolutionary forces. Israel also trained the mercenary armies in Congo, has a military mission there and built a military school for training paratroopers of the Congolese reactionary government. Moreover, General Joseph Mobutu, the Chief of Staff of the Congolese army, has been recently trained in Israel. In 1964, Israel sent continuous shipments of arms to the reactionary government in

Portugal to be used against the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique. In 1965, imperialists called upon Israel to send shipments of arms to the remnants of the reactionary forces in Yemen. Actually Israel is sending medical gifts to U. S. imperialist forces in South Vietnam and Israel has chartered all of its freighters to the U. S. Government for transport of military equipment to South Vietnam.

In addition to all this, Israel has become an arsenal of arms in the Middle East. These arms, which within two years will include atomic weapons, are to be used by the imperialists against liberation movements in Africa and Asia.

Israel is not only a military base, it is also an economic base for imperialists. As such, the Israeli economy has become a pool for world monopolies.

After having been discredited as instruments of capitalism, imperialism and exploitation, these monopolies no longer function directly in the continents of Africa and Asia but rather through affiliated companies in Israel. Almost all financial institutions, business firms and industrial establishments are affiliated with American firms.

In order to protect the interests of these monopolies the U. S. Government shows great concern in strengthening Israel and safeguarding its economy. Up till 1962 U. S. governmental loans and grants in aid to Israel have amounted to about \$1.5 billion. In addition, Israel is allowed to sell bonds in the U. S. and until 1962 Israel sold of these bonds

an amount equal to \$500 million. Israel, through the United Jewish Appeal, has also collected over one billion dollars from the U.S. till 1952. In order to help this drive, the U. S. Government exempts these donations from taxation.

- 1) The Conference warns against what is called Israel technical and financial aid and considers it a new disguised method of U. S. imperialism and neo-colonialism.
- 2) The Conference requests from all progressive parties and committees to multiply their efforts to combat the Zionist infiltration and penetration in their countries and to abrogate the various agreements concluded with Israel.

RESOLUTION ON PARAGUAY

Whereas:

1. A tyrannical military-civil and anti-national regime 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, violations, jailing, subjection to forced labour 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 Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

Appealing to the solidarity of the peoples and the righteous will of more than one thousand million people, represent-

ed by the popular and national delegations of this Tricontinental Conference, condemns the imposed tyranny in Paraguay, and demands the immediate liberty of hundreds of Paraguayan patriots, imprisoned for political and trade union activities. In the 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 Villagra
Julio Rojas
Salustiano Cabrera
Aurelio Paul Centurion
Napoleon Ortigoza
Emilio Barreto
Ramon Chamorro Riveros
Graciela Galeano
Alfredo Alcorta
Dr. Livieres Banks Acosta
Teresita Asilvera de Patiño

RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF 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, economic, social, cultural and military policy of Paraguay, and 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 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 Solidarity Conference 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 fullest 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.

RESOLUTION ON PUERTO RICO

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Considering that Puerto Rico is the only direct colony of North America in Latin America, and as such, the country most intervened by imperialism on the American continent;

Considering that the territory of Puerto Rico has been turned into a gigantic base for direct military aggression against the Latin American liberation movements, a fact giving the independ-

ence of Puerto Rico particular urgency among the emancipation struggles of Latin American peoples;

Considering that imperialism forces the young people of Puerto Rico to take part in the foul war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, thus exacting a barbarous legalised tribute in blood because of Puerto Rico's colonial situation;

Considering that the people of Puerto Rico are fighting an unequal, long and difficult struggle against the most brutal, hypocritical and reckless imperialist

power of all time: the United States of America;

Considering that Puerto Rico suffers pitiless economic exploitation by North American monopolies, which have forced a million of its people (a third of its population) to emigrate to the United States, in the greatest exodus known in the history of the American continent, to become victims of social, national and racial discrimination;

Considering that numerous Puerto Rican patriots are suffering lengthy terms of prison in the United States and Puerto Rico for their struggle in favour of the independence of Puerto Rico, and that militants of the liberation movement are the object of continued and systematic persecution by the repressive organs of imperialism;

The Conference:

Denounces that the title "associated free state" with which North American imperialism has tried to disguise the nature of their direct colonial regime in Puerto Rico, does not in any way correspond to reality, characterised as it is by the direct control that imperialism exercises over the economic life of Puerto Rico, its national territory, the life of its young people, its foreign relations, its banking, its commerce, its press, its means of communication, its educational system, etc.;

Denounces the preponderant role that North American imperialism has assigned to its military bases in Puerto Rico, and the fact that Puerto Rico is the imperialist centre in the Caribbean

from which it exports neo-colonialism and counter-revolution;

Greets the campaign undertaken by the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico calling on all Puerto Rican young people to resist imperialist intentions to use them as cannon fodder in the foul war being waged by the United States against the heroic people of Vietnam;

Supports the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their national independence and recognises the paramount importance of that struggle within the general framework of the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America;

Resolves to condemn North American imperialism for keeping numerous Puerto Rican patriots imprisoned, and supports the campaign of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement in favour of the immediate release of these fighters;

Agrees to proclaim the 23rd of September of each year the **Day of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence**;

Recommends that the necessary steps should be taken, so that a delegation of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement may tour the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to inform as many people as possible in those countries, about the case of Puerto Rico, and to call for their moral and material support to the extent that the cause of the people of Puerto Rico deserves.

RESOLUTION ON RWANDA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, gathered in Havana from January 3 to 15, after having analysed the political situation in Rwanda before and after its independence and aware of the recent events which took place in the political, economic, social and cultural fields in that country,

Considering that despite the proclamation of its independence in 1962, Rwanda continues to be ruled by American-

Belgian neo-colonialism; that domination is manifested by:

1. The strengthening of imperialist positions and Belgian and American neo-colonialist monopolies in the political, economic, military and cultural fields;
2. The illegal suppression of the most elementary democratic liberties;

Considering that the government of Kayibanda, backed by imperialism and by Belgian neo-colonialism in its anti-

national, anti-democratic, anti-social policy, carries out a bloody repression manifested by:

1. The suppression of freedom of opinion, freedom of association, freedom of the press;
2. The establishment of special courts of puppets of the government helped by Belgian military personnel who are to judge the alleged political offences and crimes;
3. The employment of Belgian troops based in Rwanda for the suppression of the popular meeting as in the massacres of November 1959, May 1960, July 1961 and December 1963 to January 1964;

Considering the distressing problem of half a million Rwanda patriots who have been expelled from their country by the Belgian imperialists and their present lackeys in power in Rwanda, which is one of the anguishing problems of this kind in Africa;

Considering the resulting struggle carried on by the people of Rwanda in its patriotic organisations (the National Union of Rwanda and the General Union of the Workers of Rwanda) for the true independence of Rwanda, for democracy and social progress;

RESOLUTION ON SENEGAL

Considering the serious situation created in Senegal by the neo-colonial regime of Senghor, characterised by:

- a) the unconditional submission to the imperialist financial groups, especially the French;
- b) the systematic suppression of all democratic organisations, political parties, trade unions, youth, women and student organisations, of all other associations that refuse to support the anti-national and anti-popular policy;
- c) the arrest, neutralisation or expulsion from the country of the leaders of the patriotic or religious national opposition;

Considering on the other hand, that this extremely pro-imperialist policy

The Tricontinental Conference greets the courageous struggle of the people of Rwanda for independence and national liberation of their country;

DEMANDS:

- the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops, the dismantling of foreign military bases in Rwanda's soil,
- the reinstatement of all democratic organisations,
- the liberation of all the patriots arrested in the prisons of Rwanda and the respect of democratic liberties,
- the return of half a million refugees expelled from their territory by the occupation forces;

CALLS FOR:

all democratic forces of the world to express their solidarity and their active support to the people of Rwanda;

ASKS:

all states members of the Tricontinental Conference to refrain from having relations of any kind with the neo-colonialist regime installed in the heart of Africa.

reveals itself in international affairs by the systematic alignment of the policy of the government of Senghor, to Western diplomacy, which at present is characterised by:

- a) the total support of Senghor to the puppet and pro-American government of Leopoldville;
- b) the refusal of the Senghor government, closely related to the puppet governments of the AMCO, to render political and diplomatic support, demanded by the people of Senegal to the fraternal people of Zimbabwe;
- c) the refusal to condemn the American aggression and to denounce the imperialist crimes in Vietnam, as well as the equivocal policy follow-

ed with the People's Republic of China, the only representative of the Chinese people;

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America strongly condemns the present dictatorial regime of bureaucratic and parliamentarian bourgeoisie, headed by Senghor, upheld by French imperialism in Senegal;

Condemns most firmly the pro-Western policy of the Senghor government and the open complicity of the Senegalese official circles with the hateful campaign carried out by the puppets of AMCO against the policy of independ-

ence and of African rehabilitation of the patriotic and progressive African States;

Proclaims its militant solidarity with the Senegalese patriotic forces, which in the spirit of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America unceasingly struggle against the neo-colonial government of Senegal for the attainment of true independence;

Calls upon all nationalist and patriotic forces to unite in order to frustrate any solution of a neo-colonialist type so as to insure popular solution to the deep crisis in which Senghor and his regime have plunged Senegal.

RESOLUTION ON FRENCH SOMALILAND

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, condemns the presence of French colonialism in Djibouty, a part of the Somali homeland, and demands the liquidation of French colonialism and freedom and independence for the Somali people in Djibouty, so that they may be able to reunify their homeland.

The Conference denounces the collusion between Ethiopian and United States neo-colonialism to transform Djibouty into a U.S. military base, as well as the French military base there.

The Conference affirms the necessity of total unification of the Somali people.

RESOLUTION ON SUDAN

The First Tricontinental Conference denounces the conspiracies of the imperialists and their agents to separate the southern provinces and stands against the actions of the reactionary regimes in Sudan in expelling the opposition from the parliament

and prohibiting the democratic organisations.

We, the representatives of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America support the just struggle of the Sudanese people for democracy and for maintaining the unity of their country.

RESOLUTION ON SUDAN

The First Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America taking place in Havana, fully aware of the political situation in the Sudan, adopts the following:

1) Condemns imperialists' and Zionists' intrigues directed towards the separation of the southern provinces of the

Sudan from the northern part as an act of aggression against the liberation movement in the Congo (L) and other fighting peoples in Africa and the Arab East and against the independence and sovereignty and unity of the Sudan;

2) Fully supports the Sudanese people in their struggle against anti-democratic measures taken by the reaction-

ary government of the Sudan and the expulsion of opposition from parliament.

We consider these measures directed

not only against democratic liberties of the Sudanese people, but also against liberation movements in Africa, especially in the Congo (L) and elsewhere.

RESOLUTION ON THAILAND

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

- 1.—Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism, which occupies Thailand and turns Thailand into its neo-colony and that, in coordination with the Thanom-Prapas traitorous clique arrests, suppresses and persecutes Thai patriots and democrats by using police and military armed forces;
- 2.—Strongly condemns Thanom-Prapas' clique which has established a fascist dictatorship in Thailand, and strongly condemns its barbarous violation of human rights;
- 3.—Demands from the Thanom-Prapas government the release of patriots and democrats, as well as political prisoners who are unjustly arrested and imprisoned;
- 4.—Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for using Thailand as its military base for launching aggressive war against Vietnam, Laos, threatening Cambodia, as well as other countries in South-East Asia;
- 5.—Demands that U.S. imperialism withdraw all its military bases, all its aggressive troops and aggressive headquarters of SEATO from Thailand;
- 6.—Supports the just and right armed struggle and other various forms of struggle of the Thai people.

RESOLUTION OF UGANDA

Since the development of the international situation is such that even the reactionary regimes would like to maintain contact with socialist countries in order to conceal their reactionary domestic policies we propose:

1. That facilities should be extended to the freedom fighters in those neo-colonialist countries.
2. That when giving help to countries with reactionary regimes, this help should not constitute an obstacle to the revolutionary movements.

RESOLUTION ON VENEZUELA

In the main address of the Venezuelan Delegation to the General Assembly of the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, we affirmed that after the practical application of the "Johnson Doctrine", the peoples of Latin America should carry out national liberation struggle on the basis of other realities and with a spirit which permits the solution of 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 demonstrations 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 of 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 fraternal 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, to 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 the Latin American 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 of struggle against imperialism. The enemy has taught us that political power cannot be won without overthrowing the state organisation created by imperialism, without annihilating the repressive army, without annihilating the colonial or semi-colonial ruling superstructure. 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 Venezuelan 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 its 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 peoples who are carrying out revolutionary struggle in Latin America, especially Venezuela;
- 4.—That all possible means to liquidate the Yankee blockade against Cuba be used.

RESOLUTION ON AID TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA AND PERU

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 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 "Gorilla" 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 America;

3. The U. S. military missions, with specialised 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.

SUB-COMMISSION OF BURNING ISSUES

RESOLUTION 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;

Noting 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. and South Vietnam armed forces is a prelude to the large scale extension of the aggression war against Vietnam;

Considering: First, that 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 crimi-

nal 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 Tricontinental 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 the 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 its policy of aggression in Indochina.

RESOLUTION ON THE CONGO (L)

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966,

By giving its valuable and effective support to the sacred cause of the Con-

golese 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 developing the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents against

imperialism, colonialism and neo-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 has been the object of permanent aggression from the imperialist powers since 1960;

Considering: that the intervention of North American imperialism in all sectors of national life, and its infiltration of financial oligarchies constitute the most notorious sign of neo-colonialist penetration, of domination and exploitation;

Considering: that the presence of the imperialist armed forces in the military bases of Kitona and Kamina constitutes a very serious 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 Organisation controlled by the United States of America, and more recently by the growth of a racist regime, marks 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;

Confirming: that for more than five years, American imperialism has been trampling on the constitutional rights of the Congolese State, 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 imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and that in this respect it deserves the support of the militant solidarity of the peoples of our three continents;

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened at Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

1.—Affirms its total support to the armed struggle for the liberation of the Congolese people, who have always received the demonstrations of solidarity of the revolutionary peoples;

2.—Decides to create a Tricontinental committee of solidarity for the just struggle of the Congolese people against the cruel and relentless 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 now 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 organisations 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.

RESOLUTION ON KOREA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America held in Havana, capital of Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966, strongly condemns the occupation of South Korea by U. S. imperialism.

Due to the occupation of South Korea by U. S. imperialists, Korea has been divided into two parts for the past 20 years; Korea's unification has not been achieved; and the Korean people are undergoing unmeasurable national misfortunes and sufferings.

U. S. imperialists are brutally oppressing and massacring the people in South Korea; they badly destroyed and ruined the national economy and the people live in extreme distress.

In flagrant violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, the U. S. imperialists brought into South Korea various kinds of new types of weapons, turned it into a nuclear and rocket base, perpetrating incessant war provocations, thus aggravating tensions in Korea.

The Conference demands the immediate withdrawal from South Korea of the U. S. imperialists' aggressive troops which are the fundamental cause of all the misfortunes of the South Korean people and the main obstacle to Korea's unification, and actively supports the Korean people in their struggle for the unification of the country by themselves, without any foreign interference.

Despite the strong opposition of the Korean and Japanese peoples and the denunciation of world public opinion, 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 intrigue, creating thereby a new dangerous phase in the overall situation in Korea and Asia.

The "South Korea-Japan Treaty" is an aggressive treaty, devised by U. S. imperialists as an integral force to maintain the system of their imperialist rule in order to revive Japanese militarism as "shock brigade" in their aggressions in Asia.

U. S. imperialists, hastening the rearmament of the Japanese militarists, are quickly opening to them the way to reinvade other countries.

The Conference resolutely condemns the aggressive "South Korea-Japan Treaty", which opens the road of re-invasion 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 na-

tional independent states in Asia, to suppress the national liberation struggles in this area, and to make "Asians fight against Asians".

Today, the Japanese militarist forces, availing themselves of the U. S. aggression on Asia, are scheming to reinvade South Korea, and to make their old dream of ruling over Asia come true.

Once the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" is fully put into force, South Korea will become a dual colony of the U. S. and Japan; a new obstacle will be created on the road to Korea's unification; and the peace and security of Korea and Asia will be under serious menace.

Today, the Japanese militarists, under the cover of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty", are infiltrating into South Korea on a large scale and intensifying military collaboration with the South Korean puppet clique.

As evidenced by the plans of "Operation Three Arrows" and "Operation Flying Dragon", recently disclosed, the Japanese militarist forces are already preparing 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 in the world to disrupt the scheme of the Japanese militarists who, backed by the U. S. imperialists, are taking the path leading to invasion of Asia, the Conference entirely supports the Korean people in their struggle to reject the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" and to smash the schemes for setting up the "North-East Military Alliance".

The Conference calls on the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to set a "Month of Solidarity with the 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 the Armistice agreement, and to organise and display during this period large movements and actions in support of the just struggle of the Korean people.

RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America greets and supports in every aspect the heroic struggle of the people of Cyprus for the total freedom, unrestricted independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

Strongly condemns any intervention from any foreign power in the internal affairs of Cyprus;

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 an internal affair of the people of Cyprus and that its solution should be exclusively in the hands of the people, who as a whole should decide their own 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 territory of Cyprus and considers these bases as a menace to peace in the Middle East and a threat to the neighbouring Arab countries, and strongly supports the demand for their elimination;

Expresses its firm determination to render every assistance to the people of Cyprus for the achievement of their rights.

RESOLUTION ON THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Considering: That the North American military intervention in the Dominican Republic on April 28, 1965, took place precisely when the Dominican people were in the midst of 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 to enforce the 1963 Constitution and restore Juan Bosch — who had been elected by majority — in the presidency. All this clearly showed the reactionary aggressiveness of imperialism, which was already an enemy even of the so-called representative democracy form of government;

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 who struggle for freedom and independence;

Considering: That each day the invading troops of imperialism remain on Dominican soil, more patriots are killed — the total already exceeds 3,000 — 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, that 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 organisations;

Considering: That in order to perpetrate this violation to the national sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, imperialism has organised 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

against its desires for independence and freedom, the Organisation of American States has acted the same way as it did in its foul condemnation of the revolutionary people of Cuba, serving as an assistant to the executioner of the peoples of the world: North American imperialism;

Considering: That the United Nations Organisation (UNO) witnessed the crimes committed by Yankee troops against the civil population not only on disembarking, but also on the 15th and 16th of June, 1965; witnessed the genocides committed by the puppet government of Antonio Imbert Barreras; those of the trusteeship established by imperialism through the Organisation of American States (OAS), all of which actions are contrary to its declarations of principles, the Charter of the United Nations. And that the latter limited itself to the simple and deplorable role of informing the events and mediating. It did not condemn this brutal aggression, least of all the chief entity responsible, the imperialist Government of the United States;

Considering: That at present the military chiefs guilty of genocide, are the principal support imperialism counts on for its plans of unlimited occupation and perpetuation of its neo-colonial domination of the Dominican Republic;

Considering: That the Dominican people have heroically resisted aggression, fighting the invaders, arms in hand, that they have not lost courage in the unequal struggle, but on the contrary, day by day have intensified their combativeness, taking advantage of every possible means of winning their national war, to free their country from invaders and fully recover sovereignty and national independence;

Considering: That in the struggle of the Dominican people against the imperialist invading troops, men of different nationalities, have died: Jack Vieu (Haitian), Andre Rivier (French), Illio Capossi (Italian), fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the Dominican patriots;

Considering: That international solidarity contributes to the struggle of

the Dominican people against imperialist domination;

RESOLVES:

To recognise the signs of fascism and war, as a means of domination typical of the imperialist system in decadence, in the ferocious military occupation of the Dominican Republic, which violates all principles of self-determination and non-intervention;

To condemn the imperialist government of the United States as aggressors and violators of the sovereignty of the Dominican people;

To alert the Latin American peoples, and especially Cuba, about possible imperialist aggressions to prevent their independent development;

To condemn the oligarchic governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica as accomplices in the brutal aggression that drenches Dominican soil in blood;

To condemn the Organisation of American States as the perfect political instrument of North American imperialism for the neo-colonial domination of Latin America;

To condemn the UNO 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 integration of the Inter-American Peace Force, as detrimental to the sovereignty of the peoples and the incarnation of international counter-revolution in Latin America;

To demand the immediate withdrawal from Dominican soil, of all foreign troops: North American, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Nicaraguan, Honduran and Costa Rican troops;

To condemn the Dominican military officers who sided with those who trample 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, realising 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 against imperialism in every country;

That April 24 to 30 of this year be proclaimed the "Week of Solidarity with the Dominican People"

RESOLUTION ON GUATEMALA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, 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 recognising the revolutionary war fought by the Guatemalans under the flags of the rebel armed forces;

Expresses its full solidarity with the people of Guatemala and their 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 oligarchies 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 repress, as it has already done, the people's guerrilla forces which are forming in Guatemala;

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 denaturalise the popular efforts to support 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.

RESOLUTION ON LAOS

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

(1) **Notes** with anxiety that the present tension in Laos becomes more serious each day 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 of which they are signatories, thus impeding the reestablishment of peace, of neutrality and of national harmony in Laos;

- (2) **Condemns** formally North American imperialism for having outrageously violated the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos, and 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 Vietnam 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 as those of their satellites, that have been illegally introduced and, above all, 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 de-

- fence of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos, the safeguarding of the Tripartite Government of National Union and the neutrality of Laos. Firmly supports the position of the four points and the measures stated in the 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, to unite in a collective manifestation of solidarity with the people and the patriotic armed forces of Laos and to agree to give them effective aid, both material and moral, an indispensable increase in strength that should make them capable of defeating the intervention and aggression of North American imperialists and attaining their legitimate aspirations, which consist of promoting a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

RESOLUTION ON MOZAMBIQUE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

Greets the armed struggle that the heroic people of Mozambique carry 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 aim 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 resulted in the kidnapping of several Mozambique nationalists in these two countries;

Calls upon world public opinion to demand liberty for all Mozambique nationalists arbitrarily imprisoned by Portuguese colonial authorities;

Expresses its gratitude to the peoples, governments and organisations which support the people of Mozambique in their struggle for a real national liberation and, particularly, to the people and the government of TANZANIA;

Supports the decision of the IV Conference of the Organisation of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa and

Asia, and declares the 25th of September as the the Day of Solidarity with the people of Mozambique.

RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966;

—Having heard the report of the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the reports of some of the delegates of the three Continents regarding colonialist and 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 the role of the former at the service of colonialism and neo-colonialism in their fight against the liberation forces, and against 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; mainly, the unity of aim and the unity of destiny of the peoples in their common anti-imperialist struggle;

- (1) **Considers** Zionism as an imperialist movement by its very nature, aggressive and expansionist in its aims, racist 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;
- (4) **Condemns** the Zionist Movement and the existence of Israel in the occupied part of Palestine;
- (5) **Asks** for the severance of all political relations with Israel, its economic and cultural boycott and its expulsion from international organisations; and in particular, requests from all progressive parties and committees to double their efforts to combat the Zionist infiltration and penetration in their countries and to abrogate the various agreements concluded with Israel;
- (6) **Condemns** the imperialist conspiracy of the U.S., West Germany and Britain to protect Israel, to support it and supply it with destructive armaments;
- (7) **Condemns** severely the mass immigration to occupied Palestine organised by imperialism and Zionism in order to consolidate Zionist occupation of Palestine and promote their aggressive designs;
- (8) **Warns** against the so-called Israeli technical and financial aid and considers it a new disguised method of U. S. imperialism and neo-colonialism. Calls upon all national committees and organisations to give material and financial aid to Palestine in its struggle against the Zionists;
- (9) **Fully supports** the Palestine Liberation Organisation in its struggle to liberate Palestine;
- (10) **Vigorously condemns and denounces** the strategic aid given by the Zionist State of Israel to some African puppet governments in order to dominate and repress liberation movements in their countries, above all in the Congo (Leopoldville).

RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION OF PANAMA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

Considering:

1. That Yankee imperialism, by imposing the Treaty of 1903 has arrogated a series of rights contrary to the interests of the Republic of Panama;
2. That, based on said Treaty, the United States have declared perpetual ownership of the monopoly over the present Canal, which monopoly they have extended to the construction of any inter-oceanic route in the Republic of Panama;
3. That North American imperialism has under its control, with commanding and jurisdictional functions, part of the Panamanian territory, in which territory there are troops, military bases, courts and repressive bodies, postal stamps, trade, education and population, beyond the control of the Republic of Panama and ruled by the laws of a foreign state;
4. That this state of things injures the territorial integrity of Panama, minimises its sovereignty and threatens the Republic through armed pressure;
5. That the aforementioned military bases are training centres of imperialist and local reactionary armed forces fighting against national liberation movements in Latin America and throughout the world, and are repressive instruments against their respective peoples;
6. That said bases are also centres of attack to the peoples of the world with missile launching sites and nuclear platforms used by North American imperialism for nuclear blackmail, which are a menace to world peace;
7. That from said bases, troops have been sent in the past to occupy the Republic of Panama, and more recently attack a patriotic demonstration of the Panamanian people during the anti-imperialist geste of January 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1964, and on the other hand, air raids have been launched against Guatemala, Cuba and other peoples. They are also the meeting place for Latin American militarist conspiracies, where the overthrow of various Latin American governments has been decided;
8. That Panamanian laws are ignored, and foreign culture and education, contrary to the interests of Panama, are fostered in the Canal Zone;
9. That discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone is exercised against the Panamanian workers and those of other nationalities regarding salaries, social benefits, working conditions and the different means of entertainment and education;
10. That during January 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1964, the Panamanian people suffered a brutal attack from North American troops stationed in the so-called Canal Zone, with the result of 21 dead and more than 500 wounded, in an obvious demonstration of the criminal nature of North American imperialism;
11. That immediately after the events mentioned above, and as the conclusion to more than sixty years of anti-imperialist struggles the Panamanian people demanded, and are still demanding the following:
 1. Abrogation of the Clause of perpetuity and of Clause V of the Treaty, referring to the monopoly of the United States for the construction of any inter-oceanic route in the Isthmus of Panama.
 2. Restitution to the Republic of Panama of the territory which comprises the so-called Canal Zone, in order to secure the territorial integ-

Substitution of the 1903 Treaty on the basis mentioned below:

1. Abrogation of the Clause of perpetuity and of Clause V of the Treaty, referring to the monopoly of the United States for the construction of any inter-oceanic route in the Isthmus of Panama.
2. Restitution to the Republic of Panama of the territory which comprises the so-called Canal Zone, in order to secure the territorial integ-

rity of the Panamanian State, and eliminate the presence in Panamanian soil of the obstacles to the full exercise of its true and effective sovereignty, and in consequence, secure the dismantling of the military bases, and the withdrawal of the Yankee troops.

3. Establishment of a joint Panamanian-North American commission for the administration of the Canal, with the understanding that the Canal will be returned to Panama in a short term;
12. That the special case of Panama, invaded and occupied by foreign troops, deserves special attention because these troops are quartered in military bases that not only violate Panamanian sovereignty, and are a means of oppression of the people of Panama, but also serve as training centres for action against the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and as an instrument of the Yankee policy of nuclear blackmail which threatens world peace;
13. That taking into consideration the occupation of part of its territory by foreign military bases, the situation of Panama is similar to the occupation of Guantanamo, Cuba, by Yankee imperialism, and that of Puerto Rico, subjected by force to a classical colonial status;
14. That it constitutes a basic condition for Panama, from the point of view of the exercise of its sovereignty and its right to self-determination, the withdrawal of the imperialist troops from its territory and the dismantling of the bases in which they are quartered;
15. That, without regard for the aspirations expressed by the Panamanian people, and further pursuing its policy of aggression against the people Yankee imperialism is plotting to increase its rule in Panama and intensify its use as a conspiracy centre against the overwhelming growth of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin

America, by means of the construction of another canal through Panama, and the establishment, in an even larger scale, of military bases throughout the Panamanian territory;

16. That this intention is evident in the so-called Robles-Johnson Declaration and in the threats of violence and repression from the pro-imperialist lackeys of the reactionary and fraudulent regime of Panama, constituting a historical challenge that the people of Panama will be able to face with the solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

DECIDES:

1. To condemn the use of the territory or the utilisation of the land of a brother country for the aggression of other peoples;
2. To express solidarity with the Panamanian people in their aspiration to attain full sovereignty and self-determination by the restitution of the Panamanian territory of the Canal Zone, with the consequent abrogation of Yankee jurisdiction in the Zone; the dismantling of the military bases and the withdrawal of occupation troops, extending this solidarity to the Panamanian aspiration to liquidate the imperialist monopoly of the inter-oceanic route and the return of the Canal to the people of Panama within a short period of time;
3. To declare that this solidarity extends to all the forms of struggle which the Panamanian people may decide to use in order to attain the above mentioned aspirations, and to confront the schemes of the imperialists and the local oligarchy, tending to impose on Panama the construction of another Yankee Canal and the installation of new military bases for the strengthening of its strategy of aggression against the national liberation movements, and nuclear blackmail against the peace-loving peoples of the world.

RESOLUTION 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 Belaunde Terry has launched a brutal repression against the popular forces, especially 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 workers, most of whom 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 Belaunde has passed the Death Penalty Law for those who fight in the guerrillas or give their direct or indirect support to them;

RESOLUTION ON PERU

The Solidarity Conference 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, and that all this, as it is logical to infer, 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, and keep the Peruvian people, especially the peasants, in the worst pos-

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 historical "maccarthist" persecution against all progressive organisations and personalities of the country;

DECIDES:

To demand from the dictatorial and pro-Yankee government of Belaunde 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, labour, 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 Belaunde Terry.

sible 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 attempts have been made to bring about this change by peaceful means without any 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, because of the class interests it represents, has been unable to solve the fundamental problems of the country, despite

his commitment to do so with demagogic electoral promises;

Considering: that in view of the violence that the Belaunde government has unleashed to crush the struggle of the different exploited sectors of the country for their legitimate reivindications, the people have come to the conclusion that there is no other way out but to respond in the same form, i.e., with organised 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.

RESOLUTION ON THE SO-CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

The Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

Greets 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 Independence Party 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 Independence Party) 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 considers 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.

RESOLUTION ON THE COUNTRIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

The First Tricontinental Conference, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 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 Principe;

Greets the heroic struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for their national independence;

Recognises that armed struggle is the effective way for 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 and 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.

RESOLUTION ON THE ISLANDS OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

Considering: the policy of obscurantism and of exploitation followed by the government of Portugal in Sao Tome and Principe, 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 Tome and Principe for self-

determination and for independence, as well as the growing intensification of the means employed by the PIDE and the colonial army;

Considering: the tradition of struggle of the people of Sao Tome 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 Tome and Principe for their liberation and independence.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The 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, the 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 the increasing oppression of 4/5 of the South African population merely on the basis of colour.

The 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 prison of 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 went to the gallows shouting the battle cry of "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (Freedom for the Nation) and "Amandla Ngawethu" (Power to the People);

3.—Resistance to white domination in South Africa has now entered the stage of armed struggle.

The Conference, in condemnation of imperialist domination in South Africa, therefore calls upon all members represented here to work for:

1.—The complete economic, diplomatic, cultural and exporting boycott of

South Africa, 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.—The defeat of 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.

RESOLUTION ON OCCUPIED SOUTH YEMEN

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Having assessed the actual situation in 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 that inspired this 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 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) **Condemns** British colonialist criminal acts, the brutal war of extermination waged against the people of the region, 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) **Condemns** 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 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 nom-

inal independence in 1938; calls on all States not to recognise such an independence;

- (8) **Call** 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 pro-

vide the National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen with funds and arms to enable it to continue the armed struggle till 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.

RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE (SOUTHERN RHODESIA)

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

1. **Notes** that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the British settlers in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) on November 11, 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 a permanent white-versus-black iron curtain 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 re-colonisation 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 **condemns** 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 confront 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;
- (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.

The Special Committee will be composed by the United Arab Republic, in representation of Africa; Cuba, representing Latin America, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam representing Asia;

- (f) Demands the immediate freedom of all political prisoners and detainees, as well as the abolition of the existing ghettos.

GENERAL RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held at Havana, the capital of the Republic of Cuba from January 3 to 15, 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 organisations, and guests from all the parts of the world, has given particular attention to the Vietnam problem, the most important question in this Conference.

The Conference has listened to the reports of the delegations of the NLFSV and the DRV 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 Vietnam who heroically wage a just struggle in defence of their sacred homeland with unswerving 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, uni-

ty and territorial integrity that were solemnly recognised 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 Vietnam.

Lately, faced with the repeated victories won by the people of South Vietnam 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 Vietnam, with the increasingly massive participation of its own armed forces and those of its 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 weapons and war material, multiplying their military operations and air raids with B-52 bombers at a growing rhythm in South Vietnam, and spreading them to Laos and Cambodia. To serve their criminal designs, North American aggressors deliberately use scientific discoveries and technical achievements, napalm and white phosphorous bombs, chemical products and toxic gases and a strategic air force, aiming at the systematic and total destruction and extermination of the population of Vietnam: massacring the defenceless civil population, destroying whole villages; bombing

hospitals, schools, cultural institutions, markets, hydroelectric dams, heavily populated industrial and economic centres. 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 Vietnam. The Conference particularly denounces their present manoeuvres to intensify, widen and make more dangerous than ever the war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The Conference condemns their crimes of aggression against Vietnam as a blatant violation of the rights of the peoples to self-determination, of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam 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 crimes 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 Vietnam, transforming South Vietnam into a new type of 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 President Johnson intensifies and extends the war of aggression, he comes forth with his fallacious manoeuvres 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 Vietnam, 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 Vietnam, the Johnson Administration has undertaken a new peace "offensive", presenting 14 points which advanced the questions of provisional cessation of bombardments against North Vietnam, 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 well as the 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 Vietnam with impunity, to divide Vietnam 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 Vietnam, 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 Vietnam of January 5, 1966 and to that of January

6, 1966 of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam 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 acclaims the solidarity of the struggle that closely unites the peoples of Indochina, in their common struggle against North American imperialists.

The aggressive war against Vietnam 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 Vietnam as well 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 great sacrifices made by the Vietnamese people whose heroism is universally respected.

Nowadays, 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 Vietnam against North American imperialism is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples all over the world for the achievement of their fundamental objectives at the present stage of history, that is to say, national liberation, so-

cialism and the safeguarding of world peace.

The Conference considers that the struggle of the people of Vietnam 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 to 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 in their 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 score more and more victories each 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 March 22, 1965 of the N.L.F. of South Vietnam and to the four point stand of April 8, 1965, of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Conference considers that these are the only just bases for the solution of the Vietnam problem, respect for the sacred fundamental rights of the people of Vietnam to inde-

pendence, 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 Vietnam, thus contributing to the sovereignty of peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

The Tricontinental Conference, joining its voice to that of the Vietnamese people and of all the peoples of the world demands:

Immediate ceasing of the American aggression against South Vietnam, immediate withdrawal of all American troops and those of the satellite countries from South Vietnam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Vietnam;

Immediate, final and unconditional ceasing of air raids and other acts of aggression against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

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 Vietnam, as the only true and legal representative of the people of Vietnam, and the right of the Vietnamese people to decide its own affairs, without foreign intervention and on the basis of the political programme of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam.

Peaceful re-unification of Vietnam 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 Vietnam of April 8, 1965, and prove this by concrete actions. It is only thus that a political solution to the Vietnam 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 Vietnam 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 three continents and of the world to the people of Vietnam, 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 Haifong 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 Vietnam, the immediate, final and unconditional cessation of air raids against North Vietnam, the withdrawal of all North American troops as well as the troops of satellite countries from South Vietnam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Vietnam, 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 Vietnam; 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 to fight 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 impe-

rialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the countries of the three continents and in the world, constitutes a direct support to combine that struggle closely with the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Conference calls on the Governments of all peace-loving countries to recognise **de facto** and **de jure** the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam as the sole genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people.

The Conference appeals to the peoples of the three continents and the peoples of the world to organise from March 12 to 19, 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 tricontinental 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 Vietnam.

The Conference makes an urgent appeal to the people of the United States

to develop further and more intensively the mass movement with a view of denouncing the deceiving manoeuvres of peace of the North American officials, especially to respond to the December 16, 1965 appeal of the Vietnam Day Committee in the U.S. to demand the immediate, definite and unconditional cessation of the bombings and of the war of aggression against Vietnam, 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 Vietnam.

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 Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia 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 Vietnam will be free, Vietnam 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 peoples of the three continents and of the peoples of the world.

**RESOLUTION ON THE CREATION OF "THE TRICONTINENTAL
COMMITTEE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE
PEOPLE" IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE
AGGRESSION OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM**

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

Whereas: The aggression of North American imperialism against the Vietnamese people is part of a world-wide plan of war and aggression on the part

of imperialism all over the world. The war of aggression carried out by North American imperialism against the people of South Vietnam is a "war of experimentation" 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 movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The U. S. air force and navy bombings and attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an 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 of 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 integral 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. 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 all peoples of 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: It is the duty of our Conference to especially emphasise its militant support to the heroic people of Vietnam,

AGREES

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 just 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 mobilise, organise, 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 of volunteers and arms, within 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 its activities to all countries participating in the First Tricontinental Conference;

Third: The composition of the Tricontinental Committee for support to the people of Vietnam in its struggle against the aggression of Yankee imperialism is as follows:

—President: National Liberation Front of Venezuela;

—3 Delegates representing 3 continents:

Asia: People's Democratic Republic of Korea;

Africa: National Liberation Front of the Congo (Leopoldville);

Latin America: Republic of Cuba,

—2 Delegates representing the 2 zones of Vietnam:

Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The site of the Committee is Havana.

**RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL
AID FUND FOR VIETNAM**

The Political Commission of the Conference decides to transfer the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union concerning the creation of an "Inter-

national Fund of Aid to Vietnam" to the Tricontinental Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Vietnam, for its study.

**COUNTRIES THAT FORM THE TRICONTINENTAL COMMITTEE
FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE**

AFRICA	ASIA	LATIN AMERICA
Congo (L)	Korea	Cuba
	North Vietnam	Venezuela
	South Vietnam	

GENERAL RESOLUTION

Introduction

One of the gravest consequences of the colonisation of Africa, Asia 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 number of our peoples due to forced labor in mines and plantations, but has attacked with equal violence the cultural heritage of our countries.

Before colonisation, great civilisations 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 civilisations of the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas. This was also true of Black Africa, with its civilisations 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, Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia were able to develop high civilisations. 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 Africa, Asia and Latin America, their rightful place in history, their dynamism, their capacity for rejuvenation 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 unify these 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, inner rhythm 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 mobilises, through an heroic process, the psychological resources, the emotional strength, the impatience and the aspirations of each people of Africa, Asia 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 anti-colonialist 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 Africa, Asia as well as of 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 coun-

tries which have achieved state sovereignty. This penetration is a permanent threat to countries which are carrying out social revolutions.

Imperialism tries to paralyse the national consciousness of the peoples by introducing its own decadent culture through mass communications media such as the cinema, magazines, newspapers and the establishment of so-called "cultural centres". 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 it tries to place universities of Africa, Asia and Latin America under the control of United States universities. It also carries out seditious campaigns through the so-called "Peace Corps".

The Commission recommends to this Conference that:

It is necessary to wage an immediate active struggle to stop and to oust once and for all, from the cultural lives of the peoples, the manifestations for the colonialist, neo-colonialist 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 Africa, Asia and Latin America that have been freed from colonial and imperialist domination present a picture of acute educational 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) The stimulation of curricular and extra-curricular sports and physical education activities.

e) The organisation of 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 fraternal aid.

4) On the cultural and scientific heritage

The scientific and technological wealth of the countries whose monopolies have filched out the natural resources of three continents and have exploited their peoples, has fed on the misery, sweat and blood of millions of human beings.

The peoples of Africa, Asia 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 take 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 liv-

ing 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 that:

The following basic principles of a programme 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 or ideology.
- c) Organisation 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 that:

To establish 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 emphasising not only the medical care aspect but also that of preventive 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 peoples who make the revolution; to have a sole and centralised 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 bilateral and multilateral exchange between the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

On the tricontinental cultural cooperation

The Commission recommends:

- 1) To promote and organise 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 civilisation".
- 2) To promote and organise 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 organise 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 repudiation 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 neo-colonialism, in the political, economic and cultural fields.
- 7) For the partial or complete realisation of this programme in each of the countries participating in the First Tricontinental Conference, to institute a campaign to create a common fund for the defence and expansion of the national cultures of the peoples of Africa, Asia 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 centres by women's organisations, colleges and universities.
- 8) To organise 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 Organisation 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 Africa, Asia and Latin America should be promoted.
- 10) To organise 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, analyse and make available

social and economic information to the liberation movements and, whenever necessary, carry out specific studies at the request of the liberation movements.

- 11) To establish 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 Tricontinental Cultural Cooperation

Recommends:

- 12) Those who fight against social and racial discrimination to 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 banning all co-operation in academic, cultural and sporting activities.
- 14) **Considering** that the Indian population of various Latin American countries lives in a situation of discrimination similar 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 immediate result of the colonial heritage and feudal remnants existing in countries like Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay maintained by imperialism; the Tricontinental Conference denounces the discriminatory treatment of the Indian population and reaffirms that only national liberation struggles can eliminate these ills.

- 15) **Recognising** the special situation in Panama, where imperialism develops a profound cultural penetration which affects cultural values and traditions;

Resolves to unite the efforts of all participating organisations in support of the Panamanian peoples;

- 16) **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 Africa, Asia and Latin America express their active solidarity to this struggle by encouraging all measures already taken in the liberated zones by FRELIMO, the PMLA and the PAIGC in the fields of literacy and sanitation;

Recommends that revolutionary cadres of the three continents assist in the accomplishment of social and cultural development in the countries which are fighting for their national liberation.

On Coordination of the Activities of the Social Organisations of the Three Continents

The peoples' forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America are great 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 neo-colonialism, 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 organisations of the three continents.

On the Role of Youth

The Conference underlines the great revolutionary role played by youth in the struggle for liberation from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. 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 organise 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 organisations, to establish contacts with all of the organisations 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 Africa, Asia or Latin
America.

On the Role of Women

Considering that the women of Africa, Asia and Latin America are an indispensable force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism; and for 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 the revolutionary upsurge and the national construction of developing nations;

Recommends that the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

— help women to foster their movements;

— encourage women's organisations 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

The First Tricontinental Conference notes with great satisfaction that the workers in Africa, Asia and Latin America are making significant contributions to the struggle against imperialism and for 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 depend largely upon the extent to which the

working class is organised, 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 ICFTU 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 ICFTU, it is necessary to educate the workers in the spirit of internationalism and encourage trade unions to co-operate with such international organisations as are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- 6) Neo-colonialists and feudal forces go on generating reactionary ideas among the workers through their organisations 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 Tricontinental solidarity movement must organise exchange of visits between the cadres and

- leaders of trade union Organisations 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 neo-colonialism, headed by the U. S.
- 8) Recognises 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) Urges all organisations represented in this First Tricontinental 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 annually meetings and demonstrations on June 26 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.

RESOLUTION 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 neo-colonialism;

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 their 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 "yankeeise" 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 imperialists, after concluding military pacts with the reactionary governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America 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, Kellogg, Rockefeller and Kennedy "foundations". Thus the imperialists 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 imperialists 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 metropolis; 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 Tricontinental Conference believes that it is urgent to wage an active struggle to rid all manifestations of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism led by the U.S. and assimilate in the same manner the best of the world's culture and create and develop national culture based on its own people.

RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL SECURITY

Considering that hundreds of millions of men all over the world live under subhuman conditions imposed by 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 guarantee precisely the continuity of the regime of exploitation;

Considering that it is urgent to immediately 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, to which they are reduced by imperialist exploitation as a system of maintaining 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 a 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 dependents 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, or 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 enjoyment of the allocations.

The Conference recommends:

The elaboration of structures and plans of social security corresponding to the situation created by the colonialist regime and the necessity to solve and eliminate its consequences.

RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Considering that Public Health has as its 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, emphasising not only the assistant 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; especially 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 the full understanding that their activities will have the highest social and common goal, far distant from any commercial or lucrative interest. Public Health plans for rural areas should be stressed.
- e) Public Health must be based on a correct and massive participation of the people in all campaigns for health.

RESOLUTION ON THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE OF MANKIND

Considering that the oppressed nations and those in 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 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 Africa, Asia and Latin America, together with the working class and all exploited peoples of these same metropolises have provided the capital and the conditions for the enormous growth of monopolies, and, with it, the flourishing of huge scientific and technical cultures that have in turn 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 this development, claim the 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 a 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 Tricontinental Conference therefore, stands for the abolition of all copyrights which benefit commercial monopoly organisations and of 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 circulation 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 to generously support this resolution.

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 vigorous vigilance against the ulterior ideological penetration of imperialism;

Considering that the countries of Africa, Asia 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 various aspects of this level;

The Tricontinental Conference states that without a profound cultural revolution, it is impossible to overcome underdevelopment and eliminate the colonialist and imperialist heritage.

The Tricontinental 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 organise courses following the illiteracy campaign courses to raise the education level to that of elementary school.
 - c) Create primary schools so that every child may have a school and teacher.
 - d) Develop 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 of training high-level technical and scientific personnel, in order to face the country's economic and technical underdevelopment.

The priority given to the Natural Sciences and Technological Education in

the universities should not lead to the neglect of the Social Sciences.

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) Organise political revolutionary instruction among the citizens of a newly liberated 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 love for free labor, by 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 the country, should form part, among other scientific appreciations of social development, of the contents of political instruction.

RESOLUTION 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 increase 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 programmes;

Considering that the 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 of the economy and the subsequent scientific progress;

Considering that each liberated country has to make its own scientific and technical revolution, has therefore 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 economic planning, emphasising 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.

RESOLUTION 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 or-

ganisations; public enthusiasm; the multiple facilities for using installations and means to those ends.

- b) to 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 will be at the same time the driving force of the physical education 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,

RESOLUTION ON THE FORMATION 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 within the planning of the revolutionary state;

and for a better use of indispensable resources, each country requires the creation of a suitable body for directing, orienting, channelling, 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 an 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 African, Asiatic 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 these countries.

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 achievement 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.