

ВСЕМИРНЫЙ КОНГРЕСС  
МОСКВА  
1973  
МИРОЛЮБИВЫХ СИЛ

WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE FORCES  
FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, DISARMAMENT,  
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, COOPERATION AND PEACE

PEACE

IS THE CONCERN

OF ONE AND ALL

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# PEACE IS THE CONCERN OF ONE AND ALL

Materials and Documents of the  
World Congress of Peace ~~1973~~  
Moscow, October



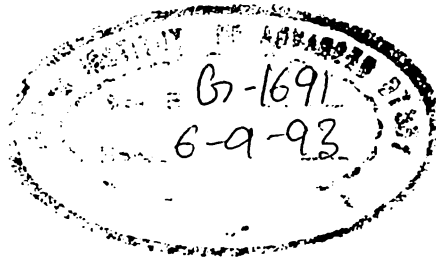
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## Contents

The Opening Speech by SEAN MacBRIDE, Vice-Chairman of the International Preparatory Committee for the World Congress of Peace Forces, President of the International Peace Bureau, Prominent Public Leader of Ireland, Former Minister . . . . .	5
Messages of Greeting to the Congress from the UNO, OAU and UNESCO . . . . .	6
Speech by ROMESH CHANDRA, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Preparatory Committee for the World Congress of Peace Forces, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, at the First Plenary Session of the Congress, October 25 . . . . .	8
Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee . . . . .	12
Speech by HORACE PERERA, Secretary-General of the World Federation of UN Associations . . . . .	33
Congress Commissions . . . . .	35
Official Greetings to the World Congress of Peace Forces . . . . .	37
Speech by M. V. ZIMYANIN, Chairman of the Soviet Committee for the World Congress of Peace Forces, at the Concluding Plenary Meeting of the Congress, October 31 . . . . .	39
Speech by ROMESH CHANDRA, President of the World Congress of Peace Forces, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, at the Concluding Plenary Session of the Congress, October 31 . . . . .	41
Appeal of the World Congress of Peace Forces . . . . .	47
Communique of the World Congress of Peace Forces . . . . .	50
For the Implementation of the Security Council Resolutions of October 22 and 23, 1973 . . . . .	60
Follow up Action . . . . .	61

The World Congress of Peace Forces was held in Moscow from the 25th to the 31st of October, with 3,200 representatives of more than 1,100 political parties, national organizations and movements from 143 countries taking part. It was also attended by the leaders and representatives of 123 international organizations.

The opening address was made by Mr. Sean MacBride, Vice-Chairman of the International Preparatory Committee, President of the International Peace Bureau and ex-cabinet minister. On behalf of the Preparatory Committee he greeted the delegates and stressed that this was the largest and most significant congress of non-governmental organizations and peace forces ever held.

Sean MacBride said that many different problems would be reviewed by the Congress 14 commissions, and proposed that the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Preparatory Committee for the World Congress, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, Mr. Romesh Chandra, be elected Presiding Chairman.

Sean MacBride's words of gratitude to the Soviet Preparatory Committee for the work it had done in organizing the Congress, and for the warm reception the Soviet people gave the delegates were warmly applauded by the audience.

**On behalf of the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim the participants in the Congress were welcomed by his personal representative Abdulrahim Abby Farah.**

"The participants in the World Congress of Peace Forces", said the message, "represent a broad spectrum of international and national organizations dedicated to promotion of peace and well-being of all mankind. At the Congress a number of vital present-day issues will be discussed, including the promotion of international peace and security, disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination, and environmental protection.

"Recent world developments impart special urgency to these discussions. The encouraging processes of relaxation must be carried on through the joint efforts of the government and peoples of all countries so as to put an end to existing conflicts and make attempts to find solutions to serious and urgent problems facing all mankind."

**The next speaker was Mr. Peter Onu, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.**

"Peace is the central theme of this Congress," he said. "It can be achieved by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, respecting human rights and dignity regardless of race and religion, and recognizing the peoples' right to choose their historical and political destiny.

"When people are denied their basic right, they can only fight for it. The oppressors of Africa have driven us to war, and Africa has responded with its struggle for liberation. We know and believe that victory is behind us, for our cause is just. In our struggle for liberation we have already achieved considerable success. The independence has been proclaimed of Guinea-Bissau which has become the 42nd member of the Organization of African Unity.

"All these successes have been achieved chiefly through the support Africa has received from the progressive movement, the socialist world and, first and foremost, the Soviet Union, and liberation movements in other parts of the world.

"Another problem commanding our attention is Zionist aggression in the Middle East. Peace here will continue to be an illusion as long as Israel con-

tinues its occupation of Arab territories. Israel must unconditionally vacate these lands. This is the shortest road to peace in the Middle East.”

**Mr. Pierre Lebart, special representative of René Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, read out his message to the participants in the Congress.**

In it Mr. Maheu said that at a time when open hostilities have once more convulsed the whole world, it more than ever behoves all men of goodwill to work together to preserve or reestablish, throughout the world, that delicate and constantly threatened balance which constitutes international peace. “It is therefore with a feeling of great sympathy,” René Maheu stressed, “that I send my greetings to the participants in the World Congress of Peace Forces, and my sincerest good wishes for the success in its work.”



**Speech by Romesh CHANDRA,  
Chairman of the Executive Committee  
of the International  
Preparatory Committee for the World Congress  
of Peace Forces,  
Secretary-General of the World Peace Council,  
at the First Plenary Session  
of the Congress, October 25**

Dear delegates, friends and fellow workers in the cause of peace, national independence, security, justice and social progress,

Dear Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev,

Dear leaders of the Government,

Among those present are the leaders of the Government, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and representatives of the Soviet peoples. We open this Congress by thanking them for their activities in the cause of the defence of peace, and justice throughout the world. The Congress was called and prepared by thousands of organizations, parties, groups — international, national and local. In the entire history of mankind's striving for a world from which war and oppression, imperialism and exploitation have been banished for all time, there has never been a Congress of this special kind.

This Congress can well be called the first General Assembly of the Peoples of the world.

We said, when we began the preparations for this Congress, that four words could characterize best the meaning of this Congress of a new type, of an unprecedented nature. And I am going to repeat these four words:

The first word is **together**. We prepared for this Congress together, all of us, belonging to different organizations, holding different political opinions.

The second word which characterizes this Congress, which has been a feature of the preparations for the Congress, is the word **open**. This Congress is not a closed Congress of people who think alike, but it is a Congress open to all those who stand for the aims of this Congress, who want to work together, who seek unity and cooperation, who do not want to stand in their separate fortresses, shouting against each other. This Congress is the greatest, broadest assembly of the workers for man's best causes ever held, open to all.

And the third word which describes this Congress — this General Assembly of the Peoples — is the word **dialogue**. We seek to talk to each other,

to discuss with those who differ from us, with those who have different points of view from our own. This is a great Congress of dialogue, and the entire preparatory work in every country has been in a way permeated with this dialogue, with this exchange of views, with this open, frank discussion.

And the fourth word is the word **action**. This also is a simple word, which means a great deal. Our dialogue, our discussion, our coming together is not only for dialogue's sake, but for new actions for peace and freedom, for international security, for human rights and social progress, for all the good things that men and women everywhere deeply desire.

Why was it not possible to bring together this Congress before? What has happened that has created the conditions to make this vast gathering possible?

The answer is clear and straight: A Congress of this type could only be held in this period, when a new climate prevails in the international situation, marked by victories for peace and détente, for the cause of peaceful coexistence, for the cause of national independence and international security.

This has been a period of great victories for peace. We have rightly called this Congress a Congress of victories for peace, a Congress which plans new victories for tomorrow.

We think today of the people of Vietnam and of the great victory they won this year with the signing of the Peace Agreement. This was a victory not only for the Vietnamese people, but for every people on this earth. The word Vietnam today has the same meaning in all languages. There is no need in translation: it means peace, it means independence, it means that no people can be destroyed, even by the most barbaric imperialist aggression, if it has the support and solidarity of all the people of good will.

We think today of the Arab peoples, faced for years with aggression, with the occupation of their lands; we think of the people of Palestine, deprived of their homeland, driven from their homes.

War is raging in the Middle East. And precious lives are being lost at this hour. There are little children with little voices, like those of your children and mine, lying still and silent in Damascus and in Suez, killed by the bombs and bullets, manufactured in the same factories as those which killed the children of Vietnam.

Today, as the Congress begins, we are aware of the great responsibilities that face us. The peoples of the world can and must act to support the United Nations efforts for peace and justice, to stop the aggression, to ensure the return of the Arab lands to their peoples and to restore the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

We think today of Chile, victim of a savage, brutal fascist coup d'état, victim of murder and assassination, torture and butchery, a country which is a land of concentration camps. Our hearts are with Chile today. Our hearts are with the resistance of Chile.

For let this Congress proclaim: Chile lives and the fascist junta shall not triumph.

We think today of Salvador Allende and Pablo Neruda, whom we knew and whose hands we have shaken and into whose eyes we have looked. The banner of President Salvador Allende is a banner for every people which seeks

to build a new life, which seeks to take its own resources into its own hands, so that its children may not be hungry any more.

And we think of Pablo Neruda, a poet, a son of his soil who loved his land, as you love yours and I love mine, and who gave us words which fill our eyes with tears and our hearts with hope.

R. Chandra speaks with deep emotion about Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet, well-known throughout the world, and recites his verses.

We think today of all the peoples of the world, the peoples of Europe, working to build a system of security and cooperation, to end the division of this great continent into opposing military blocs.

We recall with pride the great achievements which have been obtained, of the start of the European Security Conference — great victory for peace for the peoples of Europe and of the whole world, a victory to which the peoples of Europe have made a profound contribution.

Let the cold warriors know that the peoples will not allow the cold war to come back. We fight to carry forward the spirit of security and cooperation in Europe, and we seek to carry the spirit and the principles of security to other continents.

I think of the people of Asia, of my people of Asia, of their great fight against imperialist domination and exploitation, against neocolonialism. A system of collective security in Asia, based on the principles of Panchashila and of Bandung, on the principles of peaceful coexistence, is the urgent need of the hundreds of millions of people of all Asian countries.

I think of the people of Africa, the great new Africa, newly independent, proud and marching forward to liberate the last strongholds of imperialism and domination on their continent and give the peoples freedom.

We salute today the victories of the African liberation movements, and we send our congratulations first and foremost to the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, who have established their own independent State.

I remember the days when we talked of this Congress with the great leader of the liberation struggle of this country — Amilcar Cabral. He is not here with us today. How happy he would have been to see our commonly planned Congress being held — a success beyond our most optimistic estimates. And now we hold this Congress, as the world celebrates the birth of the independent Amilcar's beloved Guinea-Bissau. This is indeed a Congress of victories for peace.

We think of the people of the United States of America, struggling for a new world like all the other peoples of this earth. I salute the new America, the real America, marching side by side with the peoples of the world.

I think, above all, of the people of this great country, in which we are meeting — the Soviet Union. How beautiful is this land, how dedicated to peace. Millions of the people of the Soviet Union have taken part in the preparations of our Congress, and this has been no surprise to us. For from the day the Soviet State was born, it put peace in the first place on its programme. To the creation of the present new climate, outstanding contributions have been made by the Soviet Union's tireless efforts for peace and international détente, for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the victory of all peoples fighting for national independence.

On behalf of all the delegates, I should like to take this occasion, once again, to say how grateful we are to the entire Soviet people, its Government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and may I say, personally to you, Comrade Brezhnev, for all that you did to make this great assembly possible and for your personal participation in the Congress.

We believe that this Congress will open the door to new and greater cooperation among all our forces, among all our organizations. We see ahead of us prospects for the preparation of a great new programme of action, in which all of us can and will participate. We see the continuation of the work of the Congress, the continuation of our cooperation in different forms.

I want once more to thank all my colleagues in the International Preparatory Committee and not only members, but also thousands of voluntary helpers, for the magnificent spirit of understanding, that they have shown and the tireless work they have done, to bring the Congress together. I hope, it is this same spirit of understanding, of unity, of friendship, of mutual respect and of consciousness of the great responsibility which faces us, that will mark our work during the Congress, too.

This is a Congress not only of the defenders of peace: it is also a Congress of the builders of peace.

What a glorious perspective this opens up for us — the building of peace, the building of a new world.

Dear delegates, let us build this new world together. We are confident that this can be done.

This is a gathering of men and women who have the greatest confidence in the power of the peoples to win peace, to win independence, to win justice for every man.

Long live the General Assembly of the Peoples of the World!

Long live the Congress of the Defenders and the Builders of Peace!

Long live the Congress of Victories for Peace!

# Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, October 26

Dear friends, dear guests, comrades,

I am sincerely glad of this opportunity to extend heartfelt greetings to you, representatives of the world's peace forces, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people.

Yesterday, our friend Romesh Chandra and delegates representing a number of authoritative international organisations expressed from this rostrum kind and warm sentiments about our country and its foreign policy. For this we are deeply grateful. The selection of Moscow, our capital, as the venue for the Congress will be an incentive for all Soviet people to intensify their efforts for peace, and the freedom and security of nations.

The history of the mass peace movement offers many inspiring examples. But I should like to join in the view already expressed here that there has never been an international forum on such a scale, and as representative an assembly, as this World Congress of Peace Forces.

Gathered in this hall are delegations of peace fighters from the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and the developing countries.

In this hall are representatives of various political trends: Communists, our brothers in the struggle for a better future on the globe; Social-Democrats; representatives of revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements. Also present here are leaders of some other political parties. Politically unaffiliated men and women deeply concerned for the future of their nations are also present. Atheists and religious people have gathered here together.

Among those present we find workers, farmers, scientists, artists, representatives of all sections of the intelligentsia, that is, men and women whose hands and minds, and whose creative inspiration produce all the material and cultural values of the world. Peace and labour have always been linked since time immemorial. Exploitation and oppression have bred wars, but peace has always ultimately depended on the working man. Peace is what man, the worker, needs most of all, whether operating a machine tool or smelting furnace, whether driving a tractor or erecting a building, whether lecturing in the university auditorium or doing research in the laboratory.

Among those taking part in the Congress there are also businessmen from the capitalist countries representing groups which advocate mutually advantageous economic cooperation by all the countries of the world. This provides fresh evidence of the broad base on which the great movement of the peace forces rests.

I should like to make special mention of a new and, in our opinion, welcome development, namely, the participation in the Congress of Peace Forces of representatives of the United Nations and also of its committees and specialized agencies. This, we believe, is a natural development, because the main purposes and tasks of the United Nations, as written into its Charter, are identical with the purposes and aspirations of this Congress: in every way to promote world peace and fruitful cooperation among states and nations.

Dear friends, for many centuries men — at least the wisest among them — have never tired of condemning and cursing war. The peoples have had visions of lasting peace, but almost every page in the history of mankind is marred by the sinister reflection of the flames of wars, big and small.

Neither the lessons of history, nor what would appear to be man's natural aversion to killing his like have ever prevented new bloodbaths, because the forces of war, the role of those who stood to gain from war, were too great.

In our epoch this state of affairs has changed fundamentally. Today, the struggle against war has a reliable basis in the strength of the forces of peace and the forces of democracy, and in the freedom and independence of nations.

Esteemed participants in this Congress, on behalf of the 250-million Soviet people, on behalf of their Communist Party and the Soviet Government, I assure you that it is one of the principal concerns of our state to consolidate peace.

"Peace for the peoples!" was one of the main slogans under which the working people of this country accomplished the October Revolution at the height of the First World War 56 years ago. Indeed, the Decree on Peace, written by Lenin, was the first legislative act of the world's first socialist state.

Addressing that historic document not only to the governments but also to the peoples of all countries, the worker-peasant government of Soviet Russia expressed our country's firm desire for a just and democratic peace. I emphasize, a peace that is just, a peace that is democratic, that is, a peace based on respect for the rights and interests of all peoples. And in the years since the Great October Revolution we have always steadily and consistently worked to bring about the triumph of just such a peace in the world.

The Soviet people, who lost more than 20 million of their fellow-citizens in the fight against fascism, are well aware of what war is like and of the incalculable suffering it entails for the people. For the Soviet people the Great Patriotic War was not only a struggle for our country's freedom and independence. It was also a battle to save world civilization, a battle for a just peace in the future. Throughout the post-war period, the Soviet Union has tirelessly worked for lasting peace and the security of nations.

The consistently peaceable policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State is epitomized at the present stage by the Peace Programme of the 24th Congress of our Communist Party. Putting forward this Programme, we felt that it was our task to help eliminate seats of tension, to assist mankind in ridding itself of the spectre of a thermonuclear holocaust, and to promote a relaxation of tension in every possible way. And we have been working and will continue to work ceaselessly for these noble goals, for the benefit of all working people.

## I

Dear friends, your Congress has met at a most important and highly responsible time in history.

In the past few years, the peoples' long and persistent struggle against the outbreak of another world war, and for lasting peace and international security has achieved significant successes.

The most important of these is that the danger of a world-wide nuclear-missile war, which first loomed over mankind in the second half of the 1940s, has begun to recede, while the prospects for maintaining world peace are becoming better and more reliable than they were 10 or 12 years ago. That is something we can say quite confidently.

The principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are winning ever broader recognition. They are becoming more and more specific in content, and are gradually becoming generally accepted as a standard of international relations.

In particular, significant changes have come about of late in the relations of the socialist countries with the West European countries — with France, which was one of the first to adopt the course of constructive cooperation among states with different social systems, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and some other countries. Among the most significant indications of the change for the better in international relations are the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany. As you all know, these treaties are based on the recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers and contain commitments to refrain from the use of force in international issues.

All this has unquestionably improved the situation in Europe, the continent where both world wars broke out. And the European Security Conference is a concentrated expression of the positive changes. The fact that this Conference, for which the progressive forces of the continent worked for so long, has met, that practically all the European countries and also the United States and Canada are taking part in it, and that matters relating to European peace and security and to peaceful cooperation are being jointly discussed, is in itself a considerable gain.

As we know, the past two years have seen positive changes in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The agreements concluded during our meetings with the US President in Moscow in May 1972 and in Washington last June have opened the way to transition in Soviet-American relations from confrontation to détente, normalization and mutually beneficial cooperation. We are deeply convinced that this accords with the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the USA, and of all other countries, because it serves to strengthen international security.

In recent years, much has changed in areas that are also important in terms of international security, such as South-East Asia and the Far East. The ending of the war in Vietnam was an event of world-wide significance. It was first and foremost a victory for the heroic people of Vietnam. It was also a victory for the socialist countries, which had rendered unfailing and effective aid to Vietnam in its just struggle. Furthermore, it was a victory for all the forces of peace that had worked actively to end the imperialist aggres-

sion in Indochina. The public circles working for peace sincerely welcome the normalization of relations in South Asia, that is, the relations between such countries as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In many spheres, good relations are developing between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and Japan, on the other. One indication of this are the results of the recent visit to Moscow of the Prime Minister of Japan.

The elimination of some seats of war, the first steps to limit the arms drive, the series of important acts concluded having the force of international law, and the regular political consultations between states with different social systems are all visible features of the deep-going changes in international affairs. These changes are also highlighted by the ever larger scale of international economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation. In brief, the struggle for international security has many successes to its credit, and the peoples welcome this heartily.

To be sure, we are realists and cannot help seeing facts of a different order as well. We know all too well that wars and acute international crises are by no means over. There are still acts of aggression in the world, and far from all nations are able to feel secure. And we fully share the concern expressed here in this context by prominent spokesmen for world opinion.

But acts of aggression and violence have never before generated such universal indignation, protest and active resistance as they do today. Never before have such powerful governmental and public forces been set in motion in such cases in order to stop the aggressor, extinguish the flare-ups of war, and consolidate peace. And this, also, is a major achievement.

We are deeply convinced that the current changeabout from cold war to détente, from military confrontation to a more solid security and to peaceful cooperation is the main tendency in present-day international relations.

How has this become possible?

The main factor, we are certain, is the general change in the correlation of world forces — a change that is against the exponents of cold war and the building up of arms and those who fancy diverse military ventures, a change in favour of the forces of peace and progress.

It would be hard to exaggerate the role played by the socialist forces, the socialist community, in the positive changes now under way. The Soviet Union is working for a better and more solid peace together with the other countries of the socialist community, its good friends and associates. The world is aware of the great contribution made by Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia to the consolidation of peace and the growth of international cooperation, and in particular to the consolidation of European security. Socialist Yugoslavia, too, is an active champion of peace.

The consistently peaceful policy of the Mongolian People's Republic is a substantial factor of peace and security in Asia. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam displayed supreme courage in combatting the armed intervention of US imperialism and has made a notable political contribution towards eliminating a dangerous seat of war in South-East Asia. The initiative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, designed to bring about the peaceful re-unification of Korea, has met with wide response throughout the world.



Revolutionary Cuba, the first socialist country in Latin America, is doing much to establish in international relations the principles of peace, and the freedom and independence of peoples.

From the rostrum of this Congress I should like to express the heartfelt and deep respect of the Communists of the Soviet Union, of all Soviet people, for the fraternal socialist countries and for their principled and consistently peaceful foreign policy.

Frequent dialogues between the leaders of different states have been a typical feature of international relations in recent years. In our time, the statesman's true role and political weight depend largely on the extent to which he appreciates the importance of safeguarding and consolidating peace and on what he does in practice to solve this most crucial problem of our time.

In this sense we must give due credit to those Western statesmen who are striving to overcome the inertia of the cold war and embark on a new course, that of a peaceful dialogue with states belonging to a different social system. We are also aware of the struggle in the Western countries between the supporters and opposers of international détente, and of certain inconsistencies in the attitudes of some states on various issues. This means that considerable efforts are still required to ensure further progress towards a more durable peace. Speaking for ourselves, we are prepared to make them.

In analyzing the main causes and reasons for the present turn in the world situation it is necessary to underscore the big role played in this process by the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke and won national independence.

The entire course of post-war development has proved convincingly that colonialism and aggression, the policy of colonial tyranny and the policy of force are essentially two sides of one and the same coin. There is therefore every justification for the fact that in the very name of your Congress the struggle for peace is associated with the struggle for national liberation.

This connection is most clearly seen from the example offered by the long years of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle for their freedom. I think that we all agree that it is this success of the people of Vietnam in rebuffing aggression and their successful defence of their freedom and independence that create a basis for just and lasting peace. We are convinced that only on the basis of respect for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of all nations in the area can peace and security in South-East Asia be finally ensured.

Is it not obvious that the struggle of the Arab peoples for the eradication of the consequences of the Israeli aggression is simultaneously a struggle for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East?

The seat of tension in that region of the world has given rise to war for the fourth time. This month's hostilities reached unparalleled intensity, with heavy casualties on both sides, including loss of life among the civilian population during barbarian bombing raids on peaceful towns and villages in Egypt and Syria. The latest developments have very strikingly shown the whole world the danger of the situation in the Middle East and the pressing need for changing it.

You are, of course, well aware of the actual course of events. I should therefore like to say a few words about the essence of the issue. What are the

basic causes of the military conflicts that have periodically broken out in that region, including the present war? From our point of view they are self-evident: Israel's seizure of Arab territories through aggression, Tel Aviv's stubborn refusal to reckon with the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, and the support this policy of aggression is getting from forces of the capitalist world that are seeking to hinder the free and independent development of progressive Arab states.

In recent years the Soviet Union has time and again — and I stress this — warned that the situation in the Middle East is explosive. Our stand on this issue has been clear and consistent from beginning to end. In keeping with the general principles of socialist foreign policy and in view of the fact that this region is in direct proximity to our frontiers, we are interested in seeing that a really durable and just peace is established in the Middle East and that the security of all the countries and peoples of that region and their right to build their life peacefully and in a manner of their own choosing are ensured. For that very reason the Soviet Union has always insisted that the territories seized by Israel should be returned to the Arab states and that justice should triumph in respect to the Palestinian people. This has been and shall remain the policy of the Soviet Union.

From the moment hostilities resumed in the Middle East early this month the Soviet Union maintained close contact with friendly Arab states and took all the political steps in its power to help end the war and create the conditions under which peace in the Middle East would be really lasting for all the countries of that region.

As is known, acting on the proposal of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the UN Security Council twice, on October 22 and 23, passed a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire.

On both occasions, Israel, while proclaiming compliance with the Security Council resolutions, in fact violated them treacherously, and continued its aggressive actions against Egypt. Capturing more and more of that country's territory, Israel completely ignored the Security Council demand that the troops be withdrawn to the positions they occupied on the evening of October 22.

It is difficult to understand what the Israeli rulers are counting on by following this adventurist course, flouting the resolutions of the UN Security Council, and defying world public opinion. Apparently, outside patronage has something to do with it. But the people of Israel are paying a heavy price for this policy of the Israeli government. Hopes of ensuring peace and security for one's own state through the forcible seizure and retention of the lands of others are wild hopes that are doomed to inevitable failure. Such a course will yield neither peace nor security for Israel. It will only result in Israel's still greater international isolation, arousing still greater hatred for it among the neighbouring peoples. The Arabs' courageous struggle and the growing solidarity of the Arab states show very well that they will never be reconciled to the Israeli aggression and will never give up their legitimate rights. The Soviet Union supports the Arab peoples' just demands firmly and consistently.

The collective will of those who demand the establishment of peace in the Middle East must prevail over the recklessness of those who violate the

peace. The experience of the past few days compels us to be vigilant. Urgent and firm measures are required to assure implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawal resolutions.

President Sadat of Egypt addressed a request to the Soviet Union and the United States of America to send their representatives to the area of military operations in order to supervise the fulfilment of the Security Council cease-fire resolution. We expressed our readiness to meet Egypt's request and have already sent such representatives. We hope that the US government will also act similarly. At the same time, we have been also considering other possible measures whose adoption the situation may require. In view of the continuing violations of the cease-fire, the UN Security Council decided on October 25 forthwith to form a special United Nations force, which will be sent to the area of the hostilities. We hold that this is a useful decision and hope that it will serve its purpose in normalising the situation.

In the matter of normalising the Middle East situation, the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all the interested countries. But, surely, cooperation is not benefitted by such moves of the past few days by certain elements in the NATO countries as the artificial whipping up of sentiment with all kinds of fantastic rumours about the intentions of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. As we see it, a more responsible, honest, and constructive approach would be much more appropriate in the present situation.

I should like to stress that the Security Council's resolution of October 22 envisages more than a mere cease-fire: it envisages important measures aimed at eliminating the very causes of war. And this makes it especially valuable. The parties concerned are to begin immediately the practical fulfilment of all the provisions of the Middle East resolution adopted by the Security Council on November 22, 1967.

Let me remind you that this resolution, which stresses the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war," provides for the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from territories occupied during the 1967 conflict. It demands respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all states in the region, and their right to live in peace. It also emphasizes the necessity of a fair settlement of the "refugee problem," that is, of ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

It is not difficult to see that had all these provisions adopted in 1967 been translated into life there and then, there would have already been peace in the Middle East for six years. However, this did not take place. It did not take place because of the same shortsighted, adventurous policy of Israel's ruling circles, encouraged by external forces.

In accordance with the letter and spirit of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on Monday, October 22, the parties concerned are to start immediately, under the appropriate auspices, negotiations aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of such negotiations. A historical responsibility devolves on their participants. Let me say that the Soviet Union is prepared to make and will make a constructive contribution to this matter. Our firm stand is that all the states and peoples in the Middle East — I repeat, all of them — must be assured of peace, security and inviolability

of borders. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in the relevant guarantees.

We feel that one of the most urgent tasks before all peace fighters and all peace forces in present-day conditions is to work for the immediate and full implementation of the Security Council resolution of October 22, 1973. This is necessary for the free and independent development of all states and peoples in the Middle East. This meets the interests of many states in Europe and Asia, Africa and America, for whom normalisation of the political and economic life in this key area of the world is of considerable importance. Finally, the acute situation which has arisen in the Middle East over the last few days and the risk of an extension of the conflict quite clearly show how important it is to settle this problem also for the sake of stronger world peace.

Esteemed participants in the Congress, the peoples of countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke face gigantic economic and social tasks. These can only be successfully carried out on the basis of peace founded on a reliable security and the broad, mutually beneficial cooperation of all countries.

The Republic of India is setting an example of consistent peace policy combined with democratic solutions of internal problems. By urging a just and peaceful settlement of existing international issues, she creates favourable conditions for the solution of her own internal problems. And by gradually resolving their domestic socio-economic problems, the Indian people are substantially strengthening the foundations of their peace-loving foreign policy.

The decisions of the Non-Aligned Nations' Conference in Algiers, attended by the leaders of many countries, are of great international importance. The conference reaffirmed these countries' determination to fight purposefully against imperialism, war and aggression, and for peace and the independence and freedom of nations.

In a word, the active policy of the peace-loving states of Asia, Africa and Latin America is making a tangible and considerable contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

One of the key factors of the current international development is the active participation of the broad public and public organizations and political parties in the settlement of issues of war and peace. This is, of course, the result of the historical experience accumulated by mankind. The memory of the bitter lessons of the First and Second World Wars and knowledge of the terrible consequences that would ensue from the use of nuclear weapons imperatively demand that the people of our planet should take vigorous action to prevent a tragedy unprecedented in the annals of mankind.

In this nuclear age the peoples are showing a new and deeper sense of solidarity in the struggle for peace and, at the same time, a keener sense of their common responsibility for the future of the world. This sense serves as a powerful stimulus in the mounting struggle for the consolidation of peace, for reliable international security.

One can say with confidence that the present changes in the world situation are largely the result of the activities of public forces, of the hitherto

unparalleled activity of the people, who are displaying sharp intolerance of arbitrary rule and aggression and an unbending will for peace.

This is seen also from the recent World Trade Union Congress in Bulgaria, which unequivocally expressed the will for peace of more than two hundred million organized factory and office workers and intellectuals.

Indeed, the convocation of your Congress, and its breadth and representative character, are convincing and striking evidence of the power of world public opinion and of the role that it can play in the struggle for peace and security, and for the democratization of international relations.

## II

Dear friends, we can thus note with satisfaction that through the concerted efforts of all the peace forces the international climate has grown, on the whole, healthier in recent years, and the policy of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful cooperation between countries is yielding tangible results.

However, this is obviously only the beginning of the advance toward an objective, which, as I understand, unites all those present in this hall and all whom they represent, only the beginning of the advance toward a reliably peaceful future for humanity. We are only building up the conditions for the attainment of that objective. Our common duty is to move tirelessly forward along the chosen path, to move steadily, perseveringly along a wide front, resolutely breaking down the resistance of the adversaries of détente and the proponents of cold war. As we in the Soviet Union see it, the task is to make the détente, achieved in the decisive areas of international relations, stable, durable, and, what is more, irreversible.

And in this respect, of course, much can be done, above all, in Europe. The peoples of that continent, more than of any other, have suffered from past wars, including the most terrible of all, the Second World War. On account of the present-day character of the productive forces, closed economic life in each of the "rooms" of the "European house" has become too crowded and uncomfortable. Besides, due to the modern means of mass destruction, the house has become an acute fire risk. As a result, maintenance of peace in Europe has essentially become an imperative necessity, and the utmost development of diverse peaceful cooperation among the European states — the only really sensible solution. A contributing factor is that an increasingly more active and important role in European life is being played by the socialist countries, which are profoundly and sincerely devoted to the cause of peace and international cooperation, while in the Western part of the continent there is a growing appreciation of the political realities, and the circles favouring these goals are winning ever more influence.

That is why we have faith in the ultimate success and the historic role of the European Conference, despite all the difficulties that are still to be overcome by those participating in that unique forum, which is now at a perhaps not very spectacular but extremely important stage of its work.

What do we expect from that Conference and what are we hoping for? To put it in the most general terms, we want to see well-defined principles

of relations between European states formulated unanimously, sincerely, with heart and soul, as they say, without "diplomatic" equivocations and misconstructions, approved by all the participants in the Conference and endorsed by all the peoples of the continent. I have in mind, for instance, such principles as the territorial integrity of all the European states, the inviolability of their frontiers, the renunciation of the use or threat of force in relations between countries, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the promotion, on such a basis, of mutually beneficial cooperation in diverse fields.

We should like these principles to become accepted as a sacred and indisputable part of the day-to-day fabric of European life and of the psychology of the European peoples. We should like these principles to be adopted by the governments and the peoples in order that they become reality.

We should like to see a dense all-European network of economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between states flourishing on the basis of these principles.

Trade has linked peoples and countries from time immemorial. The same is true of our day. But today it is disadvantageous and unreasonable to confine economic cooperation solely to trade. Broad international division of labour is the only basis for keeping pace with the times and abreast of the requirements and potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution. This, I should say, is now axiomatic. Hence the need for mutually beneficial, long-term and large-scale economic cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral. Of course, this applies not only to Europe, but also to all continents, to the entire system of present-day international economic relations. Another reason why we advocate such cooperation is that we regard it as a reliable means of materially consolidating peaceful relations among states.

We hope and believe that the political foundation worked out at the European Conference and the day-to-day peaceful cooperation will be supplemented and reinforced with measures aimed at achieving a military *détente* on the continent. This, as you know, will be the subject of the talks scheduled to open in Vienna in five days' time.

These talks are of considerable importance for Europe and for the entire world situation. The Soviet Union's attitude to them is serious, responsible, constructive and realistic. Our stand is clear and comprehensible. We hold that agreement must be reached on a reduction, in the region of Central Europe already specified, of both foreign and national land and air forces belonging to the states party to the talks. The security of any of the sides must not be prejudiced and none of them should gain any unilateral advantages. Moreover, it must needs be recognized that the reduction should also apply to units equipped with nuclear weapons.

How exactly the cut-back is to be effected and what method is to be applied — whether the reduction should be by equal percentages or by equal numbers — still remains to be settled by those participating in the talks. In our view it is important that the future reduction should not upset the existing balance of strength in Central Europe and on the European continent generally. If attempts are made to violate this principle, the entire issue will only become an apple of discord and the subject of endless debate.

How soon a start can be made to the actual reduction of armed forces and armaments also remains to be decided in Vienna. The Soviet Union would be prepared to take practical steps in this direction as early as 1975. A specific agreement on this score could be concluded in the immediate future. Such an agreement would unquestionably be a further major step improving the political situation in Europe and helping to foster an atmosphere of trust, goodwill and peaceful cooperation.

We have repeatedly stated that détente and inter-state cooperation cannot be the privilege of any particular region of the world. Peace is truly indivisible. We believe that the norms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation must prevail in Europe and in Africa, and in South and North America. And for a number of concrete historical reasons this matter has probably a special significance for Asia.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is advocating the consolidation of peace on the Asian continent by collective effort. We conceive of this as the progressive development of all aspects of mutually beneficial and mutually enriching relations and peaceful cooperation between all the Asian states, as the consolidation in these relations of the well-known principles proclaimed by the Asian states at Bandung of peaceful coexistence with strict observance of the sovereignty and independence of each country. The peoples of Asia most certainly need lasting peace and constructive cooperation no less than, say, the peoples of Europe. It is probably safe to say that the people of Tokyo and Tashkent, of Hanoi and Teheran, Peking and Rangoon, Delhi and Colombo — all the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the world's largest continent — have an equal stake in lasting peace and tranquil peaceful labour. This, I am convinced, is in the interest of them all.

It is often said that the idea of creating and ensuring security in Asia by collective effort is directed against China and all but pursues the perfidious aim of "surrounding" or "isolating" China. But these contentions are either the product of morbid suspicion or a reluctance to face the facts.

And the facts are that the Soviet Union and the other states favouring collective efforts to ensure peace and security in Asia have always maintained that all the states of the Asian continent without exception should take part in this big and important undertaking if they so desire. Nobody has ever raised the question of China's non-participation or, much less, "isolation" (not to speak of the fact that it would be ludicrous to think of "isolating" such a big country). As for the Soviet Union, it would welcome the participation of the People's Republic of China in carrying out measures aimed at strengthening Asian security.

Dear friends, of course, we would be going against the facts if we pretended that China's present actions on the international scene are consonant with the task of strengthening peace and peaceful cooperation between countries. For reasons they alone know, China's leaders refuse to halt their attempts to poison the international climate and heighten international tension. They continue to make absurd territorial claims on the Soviet Union, which, naturally, we reject categorically. They doggedly repeat the timeworn inventions of anti-communist propaganda about a "Soviet threat", about "a threat from the North", and, while dismissing all reasonable pro-

posals for a settlement and for a treaty of non-aggression, continue to keep their people in an artificially created feverish atmosphere of war preparations. And all this is accompanied by the dissemination of preposterous, slanderous accusations against the USSR and other countries, by brazen attempts to interfere in our — and, in fact, not only our — internal affairs.

What strikes one is the total lack of principle in the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders. They say that they are working for socialism and peaceful coexistence, but in fact they go out of their way to undermine the international positions of the socialist countries and encourage the activity of the aggressive military blocs and closed economic groups of capitalist states. They style themselves proponent of disarmament, but in fact try to block all the practical steps designed to restrict and slow down the arms race and, defying world public opinion, continue to pollute the earth's atmosphere by testing nuclear weapons. They assert that they support the just struggle of the Arabs for the return of the territories seized by the aggressor and for the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East, but at the same time are doing their utmost to discredit the real assistance rendered to the victims of aggression by their true friends, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. They call themselves revolutionaries, but cordially shake the hand of a representative of the fascist junta of Chilean reactionaries, a hand stained with the blood of thousands of heroes of the revolution, the sons and daughters of the working class, of the working people of Chile.

Of course, a policy of this kind does not help to strengthen peace and security. It injects an element of dangerous instability into international affairs. But the possibility of changing this policy depends wholly and entirely on the Chinese leaders. As regards the Soviet Union, we, I repeat, would welcome a constructive contribution by China to improving the international atmosphere and promoting true and equitable peaceful cooperation between states.

Esteemed delegates to the Congress, the development of relations of peaceful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America is an important factor in solving the problems, vitally important for the peoples of the earth, of averting another world war and ensuring universal peace.

In the past two years the development of these relations has been marked by the conclusion of a number of important treaties and agreements such as the Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, the treaty and agreement on the limitation of the anti-ballistic missile systems and of strategic offensive arms, and the agreement between the USSR and the USA on the prevention of nuclear war. We are faithfully fulfilling our obligations under these treaties and agreements and intend to continue to do so in future. Naturally, we expect the other side to do likewise.

In our view, the prospects for the development of peaceful mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the various spheres are good provided, of course, that this question is approached with a sense of responsibility and in good faith, that the principles of mutual benefit and mutual respect are applied in practice, and that no



attempt is made to distort them and to interfere in the internal affairs of the other side dictating one's own terms, the way some irresponsible politicians in the United States are trying to do, in spite of the official policy of their own government.

As for the Soviet Union, we are convinced that the documents adopted in 1972 and 1973 have created a good basis for mutually advantageous co-operation which greatly benefits the cause of peace.

In 1974, the President of the United States, as you know, is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. We should like it to be marked by fresh major steps in the development of peaceful relations between our two states and the improvement of the international situation.

Successful completion of the new phase of negotiations between the USSR and the USA on the further limitation and possible reduction of strategic armaments can have a considerable role to play. You will appreciate that this is no simple task, but we have agreed to do our utmost to carry it out.

All of us, dear friends, love peace, want a lasting peace and work to ensure peace as far as our abilities and the opportunities open to us allow. We are gladdened by the current relaxation of international tension and the growth of peaceful cooperation among states. But I should like to stress most emphatically that neither peace nor détente will descend on the world in the manner of some divine blessing. Peace and détente can only be the result of persistent and tireless struggle by all peace forces — the states, political parties and tendencies, public bodies and individuals — against everything resisting détente, imperilling peace and creating the danger of war.

We must not forget that wars still keep breaking out, people are still being killed, and cities, factories, villages and objects of cultural value are being destroyed in various parts of the world. These are what politicians have become accustomed to calling local wars, that is, wars confined to the relatively narrow boundaries of some geographical region. Past experience shows that, as a rule, in modern conditions these break out wherever and whenever the forces of imperialism and reaction attempt to put down the liberation movement, or to obstruct the free and independent development of states that have opted for progressive internal development and the anti-imperialist line in foreign policy.

For millions of people of our planet peace has yet to come; arms in hand they are forced to fight against imperialist aggressors and their accomplices, against arbitrary acts by invaders. They are forced to fight for their freedom and independence, and for the elementary right to be masters in their own home. And the fighters for peace cannot but draw their own conclusions from this situation.

Nor must we forget that in an atmosphere marked by a relaxation of international tension, the process which does in fact constitute a material preparation for world war is continuing and in fact quickening.

The military budgets of the NATO countries are being increased by 2-3 billion dollars a year, and these are figures indicative of ever newer types of weapons of destruction: new and ever more destructive nuclear bombs and warheads, new and ever more powerful missiles, tanks and planes, warships and submarines. The qualitative improvement of weapons has assumed unprecedented proportions.

Attempts are being made to justify this kind of activity by claiming that it could allegedly help secure success at the arms limitation talks by creating "bargaining counters." Quite obviously, these "bargaining counters" will in fact yield nothing except an intensification of the arms race. As for the arms limitation talks, their success does not require any new military programmes, but a sincere desire, backed by mutual restraint, to check the arms race.

Even today, almost three decades since the Second World War, the farmer's plough and the builder's excavator frequently unearth shells and mines. These are a reminder of war, and they jeopardize human life again today, in peace time. But is there not a thousand times greater danger in the vast stockpiles of means of mass annihilation unequalled in all human history, which today, at this very moment stand primed on launching pads, are carried on board patrolling planes and submarines, and fill to overflowing the underground silos at military bases all over the globe? Is it possible to build a lasting and durable peace with any confidence when these modern "powder magazines" remain beneath its foundation and can blow up the entire globe?

The military preparations of the capitalist states are compelling the socialist countries to allocate the necessary funds for defence, diverting them from civilian construction, to which we should like to dedicate all our efforts and all our material resources. Dozens of newly-independent countries are also being drawn into the orbit of the arms race, which, of course, is prompted by the threat to their independence posed by imperialism now in one part of the world, now in another.

It goes without saying that the further extension of the arms race by the aggressive circles of imperialism, on the one hand, and the relaxation of international tension that has set in, on the other, are two processes running in opposite directions. The two cannot develop endlessly along what might be called parallel lines. If we want the détente and peace to be sound, the arms race must be stopped.

That is precisely the idea behind the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, aimed at implementing the UN-approved programme of general and complete disarmament. The same purposes are served by the proposals for partial steps along this way, including the Soviet proposal now under consideration by the UN General Assembly, for a reduction of the military budgets of the states, permanent members of the UN Security Council, by 10 per cent and for the use of a part of the funds so saved for assistance to developing countries.

I should like to draw your attention to yet another point. The Soviet Union and the United States have been taking definite agreed measures to limit what government documents describe as strategic arms. But we live in a world in which everything is closely interconnected. Clearly, the struggle to avert nuclear war cannot long be confined to the efforts of only two states, especially if in the meantime other states — and in particular the nuclear powers — continue to build up their armaments.

We believe that like the process of détente, the process of limiting and arresting the arms race should spread ever wider, involving new states and areas of the globe. Equally, there should be more and more states acceding

to existing international agreements, such as the convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons, and the treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. It is the prime duty of all sincere peace fighters to demand that this be so and to work vigorously for this.

Some tend to regard the arms race as something habitual or even as something fatalistically inevitable. This dangerous mental inertia must be broken, and the peace-loving public forces of the world have here a big part to play.

It should be clearly seen that the threat to peace is posed by quite concrete social groups, organizations and individuals. Thus, even on the testimony of the top-ranking leaders in the major Western countries, the sinister alliance of the professional militarists and the monopolies making fortunes out of weapons of war, usually known as the military-industrial complex, has become something of a "state within the state" in these countries and has acquired self-sufficient power. Militarism cripples not only the society that has produced it. The exhaust gas emitted by the war-preparation machine poisons the political atmosphere of the world with fumes of hatred, fear and violence. To justify its existence, myths are created about a "Soviet menace" and the need to defend the so-called Western democracies. But the militarist robot fosters as its cherished progeny the most reactionary, tyrannical and fascist regimes, and devours the democratic freedoms.

The previous speakers have justly dwelt on the events in Chile. I also want to touch upon this subject. The monstrous and blatant outrage against the country's constitution, the gross contempt for the democratic traditions of a whole nation, the abuse of elementary legality, the shootings, the tortures and the barbarous terror, the bonfires of burning books — such is the junta's truly fascist snarl, such is the true face of reaction — domestic and external — which is prepared to commit any crime in order to regain its privileges in defiance of the clearly and freely expressed will of the people.

The tragedy of Chile has echoed with a pang in the hearts of millions of people and in diverse sections of the democratic public all over the world. We shall always cherish the memory of Salvador Allende and of the other heroes of that country who gave their lives for freedom and peace. Allow me from the rostrum of this Congress to express our complete solidarity with Chile's democrats and patriots and our firm conviction that the just cause for which they have fought and are now fighting in such difficult conditions — the cause of independence, democracy and social progress — is invincible and indestructible! The defence of these lofty values, their realization in life, the struggle against those who threaten them and seek to destroy them, are closely connected with the struggle to ensure lasting peace throughout the world.

When it comes to the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation between states, regardless of their social systems, we Communists are frequently asked: is this policy compatible with the revolutionary outlook?

Let me remind you that Lenin, that greatest of revolutionaries, used to say: revolutions are not made to order or by compact. And we might add

that neither can revolution, class struggle or the liberation movements be abolished to order or by agreement. No power on earth is capable of reversing the inexorable process of the resurgence of social life. Wherever there is colonialism, there is bound to be struggle for national liberation. Wherever there is exploitation, there is bound to be struggle for the emancipation of labour. Wherever there is aggression, there is bound to be resistance.

The popular masses are striving to change the world, and they will change it. As for the Soviet Union, it will always side with the forces of social progress. We oppose "export of revolution." At the same time, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Government and the entire Soviet people openly and unequivocally express their solidarity with their class brothers fighting in other countries and their solidarity with the liberation and anti-imperialist movements. This attitude does not contradict the struggle for peace and for peaceful cooperation between states.

By promoting the principles of peaceful coexistence, we are working for something which billions of people all over the world cherish most of all: the right to life itself, and deliverance from the danger of its destruction in the flames of war. At the same time, we are thereby also working to ensure favourable international conditions for the social progress of all countries and peoples. This means recognition of each people's right to choose the social system it wants. This means simple and clear rules of intercourse between states. Breaches of these rules tend not only to undermine equality in relations between countries, but also to produce armed conflicts, for nowadays the peoples of the world refuse to tolerate any diktat. And they are perfectly within their rights in rebuffing aggression. With the world split into two systems, the only basis for international security is full and scrupulous observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and in particular non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

In this connection one cannot help noting that in the recent period some Western circles have been in effect trying to circumvent these principles by proposing something like a new edition of the "cold" or, if you prefer, "psychological" war. I am referring to the campaign conducted under the hypocritical slogan of "defending human rights" in the socialist countries.

Some of those who have initiated this campaign claim that détente is impossible unless some changes are effected in the internal order of the socialist countries. Others leave the impression of not actually opposing the détente, but declare with amazing frankness their intention to use the process of détente to weaken the socialist system, and, ultimately, to secure its destruction. For the public at large this tactic is presented as concern for human rights or for a so-called "liberalization" of our system.

Let us call a spade a spade, dear friends. With all the talk of freedom and democracy and human rights this whole strident campaign serves only one purpose: to cover up attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, to cover up the imperialist aims of this policy. They talk of "liberalization", but what they mean is elimination of socialism's real gains and erosion of the socio-political rights of the peoples of the socialist countries.

We have no reason to shun any serious discussion of human rights. Our revolution, the victory of socialism in this country have not only proclaimed

but have secured in reality the rights of the working man whatever his nationality, the rights of millions of working people, in a way capitalism has been unable to do in any country of the world.

From the bourgeois standpoint such human rights as the right to work, education, social security, free medical aid, rest and leisure, and the like, may be something secondary or even unacceptable. Just one figure: nearly a hundred million people are at present unemployed in the non-socialist countries. Many capitalist states violate the rights of national minorities and foreign workers, and the right of women to equal pay for equal work. This is probably why many Western powers have not yet subscribed to international covenants establishing the social and political rights of man.

The staggering socio-economic changes that have taken place in our country are the result of the far-reaching and conscious political creativity of the masses, and also of their will to safeguard the system they themselves have created from every possible incursion. For this reason, Soviet people will not tolerate any encroachment on the sovereignty of our state, the protector of their socio-political gains. This sovereignty is not an obstacle to contact and exchanges; it is a reliable guarantee of the rights and freedoms hard-won by our people.

Soviet laws afford our citizens broad political freedoms. At the same time, they protect our system and the interests of the Soviet people from any attempts to abuse these freedoms. And this is in full conformity with the International Covenants on Human Rights ratified by the Soviet Union, which say that the rights they enumerate "shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others..." We subscribed to this.

And what kind of freedoms are those who are attacking us talking about?

For example, we have a law banning the propaganda of war in any form. There is legislation prohibiting the dissemination of the ideas of racial or national strife and hatred, and of those which degrade the national dignity of any people. There are laws combatting immoral behaviour, laws against the moral corruption of society. Are we expected, perhaps, to repudiate these laws in the name of free exchange of ideas and information? Or are we to be prevailed upon that this would serve the cause of détente and closer international ties?

We are being told: "Either change your way of life or be prepared for cold war." But what if we should reciprocate? What if we should demand modification of bourgeois laws and usages that go against our ideas of justice and democracy as a condition for normal inter-state relations? Such a demand, I expect, would not improve the outlook for sound development in inter-state relations.

It is impossible to fight for peace while impinging on the sovereign rights of other peoples. It is impossible to champion human rights, while torpedoing the principles of peaceful coexistence.

To put it in plain language, no one is any longer able to subvert the socialist world, but regrettably it is still possible to subvert peace. For peace depends on multilateral efforts, and not least of all on mutual — and I stress — mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty and non-interfe-

rence in internal affairs. As concerns the Soviet Union, our ship of state cutting through the ripple of propaganda campaigns directed against socialism, will continue on its course, seeking constructive solutions to the problems of international life that are facing the world today.

### III

Dear friends, humanity is in need of a durable peace. But when it will come and what it will be like, depends on how fully all the peace-loving forces use the already available opportunities.

I do not think that any of us would be satisfied with a peace that is based, as before, on a "balance of fear." That kind of peace would differ but little from the cold war. It would be a "cold peace" that could easily revert to a situation of tense confrontation oppressive to the consciousness and life of the peoples, and fraught with the danger of a world-wide conflict.

The peoples want a dependable and irreversible peace, based, if one may say so, on a balance of security and mutual trust, a peace that opens up possibilities for broad international cooperation in the name of progress.

Peace is a precious thing. To live in the knowledge that blood is not being shed anywhere, and to be confident that no bombs or shells will fall tomorrow on one's roof, and that children can grow up without the tragedy and suffering experienced by the older generations — this is the greatest of boons.

But peace is not only a question of security. It is also the most important prerequisite for solving the most crucial problems of modern civilization. And here the very future of humanity is involved — yes, the future of the entire world, which it is no longer possible to ignore when tackling the problems of the present day, no matter how complicated and difficult they may be. You, who represent the world public in all its variety, must feel this keenly.

Here it will be sufficient to mention but a few of the problems that are beginning to cause many people concern: energy supply, environmental protection, elimination of such blights as mass hunger and dangerous diseases, and development of the resources of the world ocean.

Solution of these problems requires comprehensive, sincere and effective cooperation among governments, representatives of economic and scientific circles, and, of course, the most diverse political, professional and cultural organizations. The peoples must come to know one another, and there must therefore be a lively and varied exchange between many of their representatives.

Clearly, peace is the most important condition for such cooperation. It is impossible to make a good start in resolving the problems that affect the future of all mankind or to fulfill the many urgent tasks of today without a system of international relations based on peaceful coexistence.

The concrete directions of further advance towards the kind of peace we all want are clear. I have spoken about them earlier. They are suggested by the existing international situation. And we are deeply convinced that the vital tasks which are of foremost importance today in the struggle to consolidate peace can be accomplished through joint effort.

This means, above all, taking steps to settle, on a fair and just basis, the armed conflicts that are still taking place.

This means creating a system of collective security in Europe, and then also in Asia; this would enable us gradually to eliminate the present division of the world into political-military blocs.

This means ending the race of nuclear and other armaments through faithful observance by states of the commitments which they have voluntarily accepted, and — this is especially important — involvement of the world's major powers in this process. This would mark the beginning of a gradual reduction in the material basis for a military confrontation.

This means development of economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation based on complete equality, mutual advantage, without any discrimination and without attempts at interference in each other's internal affairs.

These we regard as the main objectives in the struggle for peace in present-day conditions. Of course it will take time to achieve some of these objectives, while others demand prompt and immediate action right now. But persevering, energetic and active efforts are required on the part of states, and also of political and broad public forces interested in consolidating peace to attain both these sets of objectives.

The long years of cold war have left their imprint on the minds not only of professional politicians; they have resulted in prejudice, suspicion, and poor knowledge — even a reluctance to acquire knowledge — of the real position held by others and their possibilities. Certainly, it is not easy to turn over a new leaf. But this has to be done; it is essential to learn to cooperate.

Our philosophy of peace is a philosophy of historical optimism. Though the present situation is complicated and contradictory, we are confident that the broad peace offensive now under way will be successful. What are the grounds for our optimism?

Our optimism is based, above all, on the fact that there exists such a permanent, powerful and dynamic factor of peace as real socialism, whose peace-loving policy stems from the very nature of this social system. Our optimism rests on the unity of views and actions of the majority of the socialist countries.

Our optimism is based on the profound interest in a just and democratic peace of many of the Asian, African and Latin American states and peoples, including the non-aligned countries.

Our optimism is based on the successes already achieved by the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the fact that the ruling circles in some of the capitalist countries are showing a growing appreciation of the real correlation of world forces and coming to realize that war is unacceptable as a means for solving international problems.

Our conviction that the cause of peace is invincible is based on our profound belief in the great life-affirming force that springs from the peace-loving nature of the working man — whether he is a worker, peasant, or an intellectual. And they constitute the vast and overwhelming majority in the world.

Finally, we associate our optimism with regard to the question of peace with the activity of all the public movements working for peace which are

broadly represented here at this world-wide forum, and with the further development of joint action by Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats and Christians.

All this is a source of hope and confidence.

However, the achievements on the way to peace must be tirelessly developed. Further progress will not be easy. We shall have to surmount many obstacles, and repulse many counter-attacks by the enemies of peace. The complexity of the struggle also stems from the new conditions, the new phase in international relations that we have now entered. As before, it will require not only a great degree of consistency, firmness and energy, but also better forms of work, new methods, timely and precise formulation of concrete initiatives that can forestall the appearance of seats of tension and relapses in the process of détente. Much still remains to be done to invigorate each of the peace-loving streams and, at the same time, to merge them into a single channel. The imperative of the present moment in history or, if you like, the imperative of the epoch, is to unite all the peace-loving forces of the world and secure the peaceful development of all countries, all peoples.

Dear friends, millions of people throughout the world expect much of the World Congress of Peace Forces. They are awaiting answers to burning questions which trouble the broad masses, and guidelines for the world-wide public movement whose aim is to help solve one of the most important problems of the 20th century — the problem of ensuring a lasting peace. This is a great responsibility, and as I see it, it is also a great and inspiring challenge.

Allow me to assure you that in your activity to consolidate peace you will have the fullest and most effective support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, of all Soviet people.

The internal life of the Soviet Union, the activities and aspirations of the Soviet people, our Party and Government, are imbued with a striving for peace. Those who have been here before, and those who are on their first visit to Moscow — all can see the enthusiasm of the Soviet people engaged in peaceful constructive labour.

At present our people are completing the third year of our 9th five-year plan. And judging by the preliminary results of the first three years, we can safely say that the main socio-economic targets set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU will be reached. This is borne out first and foremost by the steady growth of the country's national income, which will have increased 16.4 per cent by the end of these three years.

Conspicuous advances have been made in all fields of the economy. With the plan for 1973 envisaging an accretion of 5.8 per cent in industrial output, the actual growth in the first nine months of this year over the same period last year has been 7.3 per cent.

By virtue of the constant concern shown by the Party and the Soviet state, and the dedicated efforts of the farmers, we have had a record harvest this year. It seems likely that we shall bring in more than 215 million tons of grain, or more than 13,000 million poods, to express it in our traditional Russian measure. The annual plan for the purchase of grain by the state has already been exceeded. This year's figure for the purchase of raw cotton will be in excess of 7.5 million tons, and of sugar beet more than 82 million tons. Those, too, are big successes.



Nearly 7 million new apartments will be built in Soviet towns and villages in just the first three years of the current five-year plan.

These successes give joy to Soviet people, and are also acclaimed by our friends across the world. They know that these achievements contribute to the consolidation of world peace.

You can depend on the Soviet people, who have always — in the early years after their great revolution, in the years of building socialism, in the battle against fascism, in the post-war decades, and at the present time — stood and will continue to stand in the front line of the struggle for the interests of humanity.

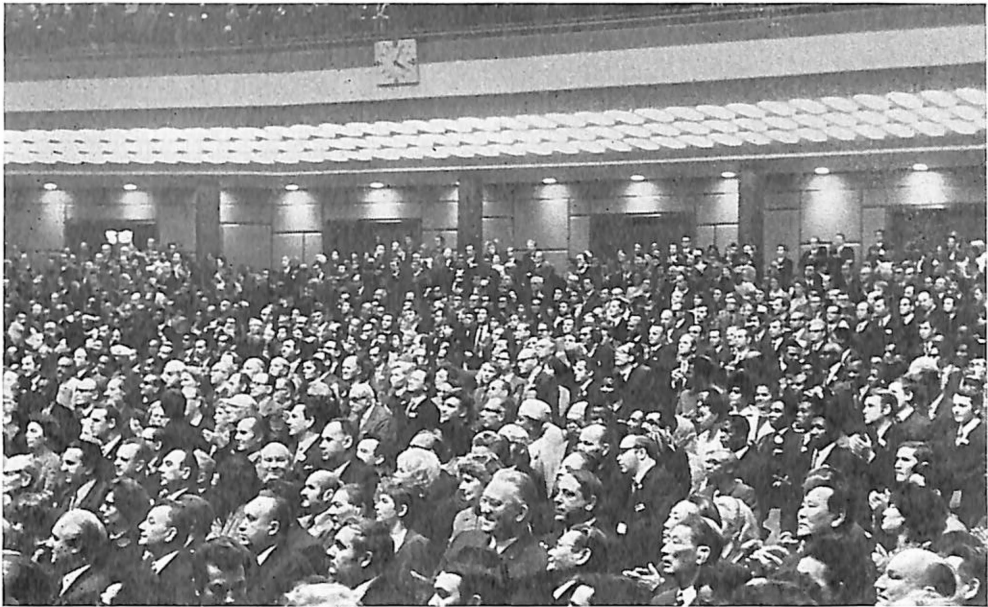
In conclusion I would like to thank the organizers of the Congress and all of you, dear friends, for this opportunity of speaking from this high rostrum.

Esteemed participants in this Congress, allow me, in conclusion, to wish you every success in your fruitful joint work that will, I am sure, find a ready response in the hearts of people on all continents.





Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, addressing the World Congress of Peace Forces on October 26, 1973

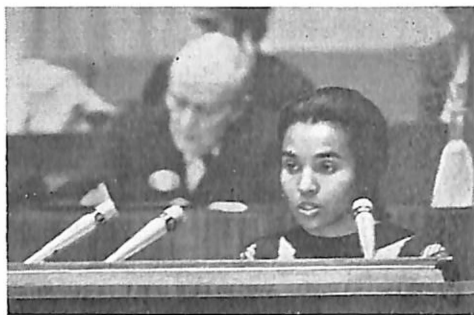


**The Congress in session**

**Peace forces of the world are united**



Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova with Hortensia Bussi de Allende



Anna-Maria Cabral, the widow of Amilcar Cabral, addressing the Congress



Mikhail Zimyanin, Chairman of the Soviet Committee for the World Congress of Peace Forces, with Horace Perera, Secretary-General of the World Federation of United Nations Associations



Gyula Kállai, the head of the Hungarian delegation, speaking at the Congress



Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, takes the floor



Marcelino dos Santos, Chairman of the Commission "National Liberation, the Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism", talking with Omar Mohamed Yusuf of Somalia



Peter Onu, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), reading a message of greeting to the Congress on behalf of the OAU



Bui Thi Kam, deputy of the National Assembly, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Presidium member of the Union of Vietnamese Women



Hoang Minh Giam, delegate from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, addressing the Congress



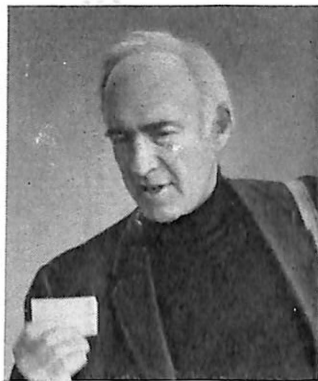
Vasco Cabral, State Minister of Economics and Finance of the Guinea-Bissau Republic, takes the floor



Nikola Vujanovič, Chairman of the Yugoslav League for Peace, addressing the Congress



Gerhard Kade of the Federal Republic of Germany, Vice-President of the International Peace Institute, Vienna



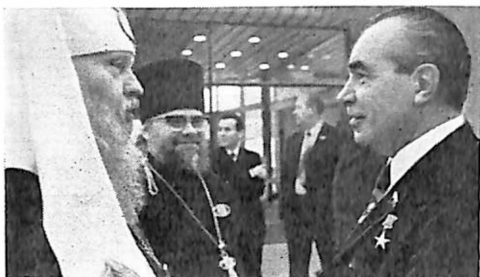
Albert Kahn, an American writer



**Juan Marinello, the head of the Cuban delegation**



**Hussain nur Elmi, representative of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, (Somalia) speaking at the Congress**



**Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, talking with Academician N. Blokhin during an intermission at the Congress**



**Roy Hughes, Labour M. P., Britain, addressing the Congress**



**Professor Franz Nemschak of Austria, Chairman of the Commission "Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation" (left)**



**Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the All-Polish Peace Committee, with Soviet journalist Yuri Zhukov**



Indian delegates in the Congress hall

British writer James Aldridge among Congress delegates

Congress delegates from Britain visiting the Leninist Komsomol Motor Works





At the concluding session of the World Congress of Peace Forces



Congress delegates laying wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum

The floor was then given to Horace Perera, Secretary-General of the World Federation of UN Associations and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Preparatory Committee for the World Congress, who spoke on behalf of the delegates and observers.

Addressing Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev the speaker said:

"I feel greatly honoured to be able to express my gratitude to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Your Excellency, permit me, on behalf of the organizers of the Congress, all its participants, to thank you personally, the Government and the people of the USSR for making it possible to hold this historic forum of world peace forces in the great city of Moscow at whose walls the fascist hordes were put to rout." The speaker wholeheartedly thanked Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev for the speech he had made at the Congress.

"The spirit of détente," he continued, "which exists in the relations between the USSR and the USA, the mounting efforts to ensure security and cooperation between nations have become important factors for world peace. However, there are still areas of conflict and tension in the world. These and other vital problems are undoubtedly a major source of concern to Your Excellency, which can be judged from the fact that you spare neither your time nor efforts to solve them. We are saying this now," continued Horace Perera, "because we all know about your tireless work to ensure peace and security in the world, to put an end to all forms of colonialism and apartheid in all its ugly manifestations.

"The peoples of our planet know very well about your historic peace missions to the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America, France and other countries, and also about the fact that, working in cooperation with the leaders of these countries, you have started a new era in the history of the world. Reflecting on these missions and their results we recall that it was in the Soviet Union that the appeal for peaceful coexistence originated. All peace-loving nations salute the initiative of the Government and people of the Soviet Union aimed at putting an end to the hostilities in the Middle East and at ensuring peace in this area.

"The very fact that you, Your Excellency, are here today adds to the long list of your efforts to maintain peace," said Horace Perera. "You have shared your views and thoughts with us, you have given us the courage we need, you have increased our awareness of the part the peoples of the world can and must play in achieving a just and stable peace, in fighting for free-

dom and social progress. Your presence here today is for us an event in our lives which we shall not merely remember. It is an event which has enriched our hearts and minds. I am sure that I am voicing the sentiments of all gathered in this hall, that your presence here and your speech will be an inspiration to us in our work to achieve the aims and purposes which have brought us here from all corners of the globe. In your speech you showed us how to achieve better understanding, détente and cooperation in the interests of world peace."

On behalf of all the delegates and observers the speaker wished Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev great success in his efforts to promote peace, security and progress in the world.

Fourteen commissions which held their meetings at some of Moscow's finest public buildings (the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the Column Hall of the Trade Unions House, the Hotel "Rossia", etc.) were formed at the World Congress of Peace Forces to deal with the many problems facing this international forum:

Peaceful Coexistence and International Security

Chairman: Józef Cyrankiewicz,  
Chairman of the All-Polish Peace  
Committee

Indochina

Chairman: André Souquiere,  
Chairman of the Executive Com-  
mittee of the Stockholm Conference  
on Indochina (France)

Middle East

Chairman: Klim Čorbe, Member  
of the Secretariat of the Presidium  
of the Socialist Alliance of the  
Working People of Yugoslavia

European Security and Cooperation

Chairman: Canon Raymond Goor  
(Belgium)

Peace and Security in Asia

Chairman: Abdus Mohammed Aza  
Samad, Honorary President of the  
World Peace Council, Minister of  
Agriculture of the People's Re-  
public of Bangladesh

Disarmament

Chairman: Richard Andriaman-  
jato, President of the Independence  
Congress Party of Madagascar

National Liberation — the Strug-  
gle Against Colonialism and Ra-  
cism

Chairman: Marcelino dos Santos,  
Vice-President of the Mosambique  
Liberation Front

Development and Economic In-  
dependence

Chairman: Dr. César Rondon  
Lovera (Venezuela)

Cooperation for Protection of the Environment

Chairman: Academician E. K. Fyodorov, Hero of the Soviet Union (USSR)

Cooperation in the Field of Education and Culture

Chairman: James Aldridge, Winner of the International Lenin Prize "For Promotion of Peace Among Nations," British writer

Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation

Chairman: Prof. Franz Nemtschak, Director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research

Social Progress and Human Rights

Chairman: Enrique Pastorino, Chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions (Uruguay)

Cooperation Between Intergovernmental and Non-Governmental Organizations

Chairman: Dr. Knud Nielsen, President of the World Association of World Federalists (Denmark)

Chile

Chairman: Vilma Espin de Castro, Chairman of the Federation of Cuban Women

## Official Greetings to the World Congress of Peace Forces

Numerous greetings addressed to the Congress came from: Anwar Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt; Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh; Todor Zhivkov, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia; Major Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba; Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus; Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Mathieu Kerekou, President of the Republic of Dahomey; Ahti Karjalainen, Deputy Prime Minister of Finland, Foreign Minister of Finland; Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Willi Stoph, President of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic; Horst Sindermann, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic; Erich Correns, President of the National Council of the National Front of the German Democratic Republic; I. K. Acheampong, Chairman of the National Redemption Council of Ghana; Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India; Sardar Swaran Singh, Foreign Minister of India; Ahmed Hasan Al-Bakr, President of the Republic of Iraq; Saddam Hussein, Vice-President of the Revolutionary Command Council in Iraq; Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Laos; W. R. Tolbert, President of Liberia; Didier Ratsiraka, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Malagasy Republic; Moussa Traore, President of the Government and Head of State of the Republic of Mali; Y. Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic; Omar Torrijos Herrera, Head of Government of Panama; General Juan Velasco Alvarado, President of the Republic of Peru; Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Nicolae Ceausescu, Chairman of

the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka; Huynh Tan Phat, President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam; Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

**Speech by M. V. ZIMYANIN,**  
**Chairman of the Soviet Committee for the World**  
**Congress of Peace Forces, at the Concluding**  
**Plenary Meeting of the Congress, October 31**

Dear friends,

The fruitful week of our Congress' work is drawing to a close. Today it is hardly possible to assess in full what we have managed to achieve together, in a good, friendly atmosphere. The reason is not that we have not cooled down after discussions or simply had no time to weigh the results of the Congress in their entirety, but that these results will make themselves felt in the future, in our joint effort for peace, in the name of mankind's social progress. It seems that the last day of the Congress opens a new page in our common struggle for the aims which were its motto.

Nevertheless, it is clear already today that the Congress has become an outstanding event in the life of the peace-loving public movements, trends and organizations of today. It has not only brought together people of most various political and philosophical views. It showed that awareness of responsibility for the destinies of the world and for its future is stronger than these differences. The Congress managed not only to discuss major political, economic, social and other problems from the angle of safeguarding peace, but also to work out a common approach to them.

The documents, which are the fruit of our joint efforts, express this common approach. This is precisely why we can regard them as a principled platform of the peace forces' actions for international security, disarmament, national independence, cooperation and peace.

Dear friends,

During these days many warm words were said at our Congress about the Soviet Committee for the Congress. Allow me to extend our cordial gratitude to you for such a high appraisal of the work we have done. I can only say that we did this work with great joy.

At this Congress many good things were said again about the Soviet Union, about the policy of the Communist Party, the Soviet state, about the activities of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev aimed at strengthening peace, security and international friendship. The Soviet delegation extends its cordial gratitude to you for this. Allow me, friends, to repeat the words



uttered by Leonid Ilyich in this hall a few days ago: "You can depend on the Soviet people, who have always — in the early years after their great revolution, in the years of building socialism, in the battle against fascism, in the postwar decades, and at the present time — stood and will continue to stand in the front line of the struggle for the interests of humanity."

Allow me to wish you good health and happiness, and new successes in your noble work for durable peace, in the name of a happy future for all mankind.

**Speech by Romesh CHANDRA,**  
**President of the World Congress of Peace Forces,**  
**Chairman of the Steering Committee**  
**of the World Congress**  
**of Peace Forces,**  
**Secretary-General of the World Peace Council,**  
**at the Concluding Plenary Session**  
**of the Congress, October 31**

Dear delegates,

We have arrived at the concluding moment of our Congress. We have received a great number of messages from all over the world, and I should like to tell you about some of them because they tell us vividly the reasons for which we have gathered here in Moscow.

Here you see a few ordinary postcards. We have received hundreds of them. They were sent to us by children of many countries. It seems to me that children everywhere feel, by instinct, that our Congress is of special importance for their lives.

There are many other messages. Here, for instance, is a sheet of paper, which is precious, invaluable. It is signed by political prisoners who languish in jail near Madrid. The first line of this letter says: "We are addressing you with a hope that our cause and our sufferings may be known to you. But we are aware that our problem is only a tiny grain of sand in the vast desert of the most urgent problems facing mankind today."

I should like you to authorize me to let them know that their voice has reached us, that our Congress remembers them.

And now there is not a single problem, not a single aspect of human life that is insignificant for us. All the grains of sand command our attention and our love.

Our movement has changed beyond recognition. Today it is a movement which includes many organizations and individuals holding different views; it deals with the most vital problems on which the minds and hearts of mankind are concentrated. This movement concerns itself and acts in regard to all the problems, all the issues which relate to the building of a new world, the building of a new life in all countries for all peoples. The solution of problems of the smallest of countries or regions or cities or villages concerns this Congress, the Assembly of the Peoples of the World. That is why our hearts are with the grains of sand... in Madrid and everywhere else.

As for children, we want all the children of the world to be like the children of this land on which we are now meeting, to be happy like these children, whom we have heard singing and dancing on the stage of this Palace of Congresses, like those whom we see wherever we go in this country.

We do not forget the children of many lands whom we have seen in photographs or with our own eyes. We do not forget the children dead with their hearts pierced with bullets floating down the river Mekong. We cannot forget the schoolchildren of Bahr el Bakr in Egypt also mowed down by bullets made in the same factories as those which found the hearts of the children floating down the River Mekong. We shall not forget the children dead from hunger in many parts of this world of ours.

The rivers of the world have not been created to carry dead children's bodies. It is not for this that rivers should be flowing in any part of this world. And this is why our Congress calls on all the peoples to join hands to change together the character of these rivers, the rivers which used to carry death, and to turn them into rivers of life and joy for all the children of the world, so that these children may dance, sing, laugh and enjoy themselves on our earth, all over the world, on the banks of all the rivers of the world.

Our Congress is a Congress of confidence in the peoples' power, in their ability to make the peoples' finest aspirations and hopes a reality.

What is the main characteristic of this Congress? Whatever the political differences between us, our Congress has vividly shown that we can work together. It has also shown each of us that we must work together if we want world public opinion to become the mighty invincible force which it must become, for the sake of the future of mankind.

Of course, we shall work in different ways, with our different viewpoints, our different methods and approaches. But there is no contradiction. We can and must work together on a whole range of problems covering the widest fields of mankind's struggles.

Our Congress is a Congress which unites the most diverse organizations which seek to work together for the common goal.

We have at this Congress accomplished a tremendous amount of work. Sometimes, when one does not see the wood for the trees, one may imagine that we repeat ourselves, that our documents are just echoes of what has already been. But make no mistake — this is not a fact. Our Congress is not a repetition of the past, it is something new, something that has never happened before.

We have drawn up a programme of action. Many, or some of you may say: Nothing can be easier than to write a programme — but who is going to fulfil it? I believe that in all the documents we have adopted in the Commissions, a special achievement has been the adoption of the programme of action. We must fulfil this programme and we will fulfil it.

And then there is a sheet of paper which speaks about the future, about follow-up action and the continuation of our work. It is, of course, just a sheet of paper. But we have drawn up its contents very carefully, lest anyone should misunderstand us. We are not creating any sort of "super organization" which is to impose its will on others.

The importance of this decision regarding our follow-up action is very great. We can cooperate, and our Congress shows that we must continue and extend this cooperation.

Each Commission insisted, in its final report, on the need for such cooperation, and the same conclusion is to be found in our final document. There

is a tremendous range of problems on which we can cooperate. We represent here thousands of organizations. When we pool the efforts of the millions of people represented here, the result will be several times greater than the sum total of the results obtained through our work separately. Millions of people will join our work — those who, until now, have stood aloof from the struggle for peace on the sidelines, will join our ranks and work together with us.

As a result of our Congress, to our movement in the future will rally new organizations, new movements and new forces, and so it will become many times stronger than today. Let me say this once again, that our Congress is a new landmark in the history of the movement, a new landmark in our cooperation and our unity of action, which is of such vital importance to all of us.

The Congress has given us a fresh spirit of unity. We now go back to our countries to report to our peoples on what we have done. What shall we tell them? Many things. But above all, perhaps, that the Congress has given us a new belief in the invincibility of our movement.

I want to extend to all of you, dear delegates, our heartfelt gratitude for all you have done for the success of the Congress. We must extend our profound gratitude to thousands and thousands of people who are not present here today. Our Congress owes a debt of gratitude, too great to be repaid, to our brothers and sisters, peace fighters, the rank-and-file peace champions who have made our meeting possible. These are the interpreters, translators, typists, technical workers in all fields. I should also like to thank the workers in the hotels, workers in this Palace of Congresses and in all the buildings where our commissions worked.

The Soviet Committee of Support for the Congress is a body which represents all the public organizations of their country — the Peace Committee and organizations of peasants, women, youth, scientists, artists and cultural workers. The Soviet Peace Committee represents all the Soviet people. It is precisely to the Soviet Committee, to all the Soviet people, that we extend our gratitude for all they have done for us, for all that has made our work together here so possible and useful.

I should also like to extend once more our gratitude to the leaders of this country and particularly to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I want to repeat that we remember the remarkable speech he made here, we remember the words and the spirit of this speech. But what I believe is of utmost importance was the emphasis Comrade Brezhnev placed on the importance of world public opinion, the voice of the peoples.

After this Congress we shall bear a double responsibility. We are more and more aware of the fact that the force of public opinion has grown. We have still to win more victories, and public opinion will play an ever more important and even decisive role in the winning of these victories. This is the feeling which permeated the work of the Congress at every moment. Leaders of governments working for peace and independence have sent us their messages, which say what I am saying now, that public opinion is playing an ever greater role. We must also remember that there still are governments which ignore public opinion and trample on their peoples'

rights. Let everyone know: no government — not the most powerful — can any more ignore the power of public opinion.

Quite recently, when we had already assembled in Moscow, the world lived through tense days, times of dangerous international provocations. There was a moment when certain forces sought to bring us again to the brink by declaring an “alert” of their forces, including those with nuclear weapons. But let these provocateurs know: the peoples are on the alert, and thanks to their vigilance, the alert of the peace forces thwarted the alert with which the imperialists tried to intimidate them.

This General Assembly of the Peoples of the World warns the war-makers to beware. Our Congress does not die today. It lives on. Our work will continue for building a new life on this earth. The peoples have the power to defend and build peace.

Long live the Congress of defenders of peace and of builders of a new life!

Long live the General Assembly of the Peoples of the World, on the alert against all schemes of the enemies of peace, fighting together for independence and social progress! Today we, the peoples of the world, can win and **shall** win — this is our goal, and this is our pledge!

**DOCUMENTS OF THE WORLD CONGRESS  
OF PEACE FORCES**

# Appeal of the World Congress of Peace Forces

We, the participants in the World Congress of Peace Forces, gathered in Moscow, call on all men and women to unite their efforts to ensure that a just and enduring peace should prevail on earth!

Our appeal is the result of reflection and discussion concerning the path to lasting peace. Our viewpoints on life differ in many ways. But all of us are agreed on the main point — the need to eliminate war from human society, to assure the people of the right to choose its own way independently, and to place the great achievements of science and technology at the service of social progress.

Of late, the international political climate has begun to clear thanks to the success of the peace forces. The costly and burdensome cold war is beginning to recede into the past. There is now real hope that the present and future generations can be delivered from the nightmare of nuclear disaster. The embitterment and confrontation in international relations will gradually give way to peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation, and to greater confidence among states.

Much has been achieved. But far from everything. There are still regions in the world where tensions are running as high as before, where flashpoints of aggression fraught with danger for all mankind have not yet been eliminated. While the foundation is being laid for relations of peaceful coexistence between states with various social systems, those who wish to tear down what has already been built and drag the world back to cold war are still at work. The arms race has not been stopped. The nuclear bombs are not destroyed. The military budgets of many countries are still growing. And the military blocs have not been dissolved.

The forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction are still holding the last remaining strongholds of colonialism. They are organizing fascist putsches. They are sowing strife and enmity between peoples. And as long as there is even an inch of land where blood is being shed and aggression committed, as long as any people are denied the right to settle their own future, and as long as there are fascist and racist regimes suppressing the democratic will of the people, the conscience of mankind cannot rest, and the edifice of peace will not repose on a dependable foundation.

The peoples of the world should no longer accept a situation in which a major part of the world's resources is devoted to the preparation of war. They should refuse to accept the constant threat of annihilation by war. War is not inevitable, but peace will be endangered if we fail to rectify the injus-

tices which condemn forty per cent of the world population to live on the verge of starvation and of economic degradation. Military expenditure throughout the world exceeds that for health services by two and one half times and that for education by one and one half times.

Racial discrimination, colonialism and neo-colonialism reduce human beings in large areas of Africa and other parts of the world to a slave status. Democratically elected governments are overthrown, or intimidated; multinational corporations threaten the economic independence of weaker states and stultify their development.

In many countries human rights are disregarded; people are denied their political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights. While lip service is paid to the equal status of women, real opportunity to achieve equality with men is often denied to them. At the national level often inadequate protection is given to workers. At the international level effective machinery must be provided for the better protection of human rights and efforts should be made to secure the ratification and implementation of the Human Rights Covenants.

Grave crimes against humanity have occurred in recent years and even in recent weeks which weigh heavily on the human conscience. There have been aggressions and horrifying massacres; these continue up to this moment. Genocide, ecocide, the torture of prisoners, and the use of indiscriminate weapons such as napalm and anti-personnel devices have unfortunately become commonplace in some parts of the world; everyone is only too well aware of the most notorious cases. We must never allow a situation where such crimes are regarded as routine; we must not allow our sense of horror and indignation over these acts to become dulled. Crimes against humanity must be identified and condemned as such.

The World Congress of Peace Forces represents the response of the ordinary people of the world to those dangers and injustices. It calls for a new effort to ensure that the knowledge, labour and wealth of mankind should be used for the benefit of the people and not for the destruction or enslavement of human beings.

## **TOGETHER WE THE PEOPLES DEMAND:**

— the acceptance and implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence, based on international security and mutually advantageous cooperation between states in every sphere, on territorial integrity, national independence, sovereignty, and legal equality of all states, non-interference in internal affairs, and repudiation of the threat or use of force;

— the elimination of racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations;

— general and complete disarmament; the withdrawal of all military bases and foreign troops; abolition of all military alliances;

— the adoption of an international convention outlawing the use of nuclear weapons, their manufacture, testing and stockpiling;

— the ending of all forms of aggression and the ending of any attempts to acquire by force the territory of other states;

— the utilization of the resources, now used for war purposes, for the era-



dication of poverty, ignorance and disease and the provision of better educational, health and social services;

- the removal of injustices, the more effective protection of human rights;
- the right of all peoples to own and control their national resources and to carry out social and economic reforms as they see fit;
- the implementation of UN decisions to ensure peace, security and justice.

These demands correspond to the principles of the UN Charter, to the principles of the Bandung Conference, of the Conference of Non-Aligned States and to those enunciated in the various recent agreements and declarations for the preservation of peace signed by leaders of States with different social systems.

**TO THESE ENDS** the national and international organizations must coordinate their efforts to mobilize world public opinion as an effective instrument for peace. Educational policies must be specifically orientated to achieve these objectives.

We call on the international community to eschew cold war attitudes and in the words of the United Nations Charter “to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours”.

We are determined to save this and succeeding generations from the scourge of war and we reaffirm our faith in human rights and progress at all levels. It is on this basis that the edifice of peace can be built by the efforts of every man and woman.

Our message to all those who cherish peace is that reason and confidence must prevail in the world. They can prevail. This depends on every one of us.

# Communique of the World Congress of Peace Forces

The World Congress of Peace Forces was held in Moscow on October 25-31, 1973. It was the broadest forum in the history of public movements uniting people belonging to 120 international and over 1,100 national organizations and movements in 143 countries.

Seven days of frank discussion in the spirit of a constructive dialogue enabled us, taking into account various attitudes, to make a comprehensive examination of urgent and difficult problems of the present day.

The World Congress has been an important milestone in the development of the efforts of the peoples for the defence and the building of peace. It has made an invaluable contribution towards greater understanding and cooperation among organizations holding very different political and other views. This will give fresh impetus to common action.

Much of what has taken place on the international scene recently fills us with hope and inspiration. There are signs, for the first time since the Second World War, that the threat of another disaster, much more terrible for its possible consequences, is beginning to recede. The concept of peaceful co-existence is winning more and more adherents in and outside governments. There is greater understanding that concern for world peace and security cannot be the affair solely of a small number of major powers. This understanding is prompting countries—big, medium and small, whether they belong to various blocs and groups or are non-aligned—to contribute more actively to the broadening process of détente and to the significant turn from hostility, confrontation and estrangement to meaningful, equal cooperation.

But much of what is happening today causes anxiety and worry. Relaxation in some areas is accompanied by explosions of tension and aggression in others, which inevitably make an ominous impact on international relations generally. The efforts to slow down the arms race are still encountering considerable resistance from the military-industrial complexes and from militarist, openly fascist and racist regimes. Despite the process of decolonization, colonialism in various forms still denies to peoples their independence and their inherent right to be the unchallenged masters in their own countries. Deliberate efforts are made to revive the cold war and thereby adversely affect the recent favourable changes in the international climate.

Together we have considered what can and must be done in this situation by the peace forces through the power of world opinion. We have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to take vigorous and concerted action, leav-

ing aside all that divides us, to help foster the progress now under way towards peace and security. Drawing upon their fruitful work, the 14 Commissions of the Congress summed up the positive results of their discussions and conclusions and worked out a common approach to problems, whose successful solution, we are certain, will be the guarantee that the successes achieved in the 1970s will lead to a durable peace on our planet.

We attach paramount importance to the following problems.

## Peaceful Coexistence and International Security

Peace cannot be ensured without the world-wide acceptance and implementation of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states, regardless of their social systems.

Peaceful coexistence is not simply an absence of war; it gives each nation the possibility of upholding its independence and sovereignty within inviolable frontiers and, on that basis, promote all-sided cooperation, ensuring exchanges and concerted action by nations in the interests of peace and social progress.

Peaceful coexistence does not signify reconciliation with injustice. On the contrary, it presupposes that aggression is effectively checked and that the nations have the right to fight by all necessary means for their political and economic liberation and social progress, to freely determine their own destiny without any outside interference. For this reason it is in keeping with the interests and ethical ideas of peoples about the principles that must underlie a just peace.

Peaceful coexistence rules out the use of force in the relations between countries and predetermines the truly peaceful character of the various means of settling disputes and differences. This is precisely what makes it the most dependable foundation of international security. Such a foundation cannot be provided by a "balance of fear", which is unstable and dangerous, for it preserves and justifies war preparations, sustains a military background for the settlement of international problems and aggravates the military confrontation between groups of countries.

The alternative to this, and it is a quite realistic alternative, is to create the political, economic, social, cultural and psychological guarantees of security. This is the only way to end the division of the world into opposing military and political blocs and to settle other cardinal aspects of military détente. On this road the United Nations can fulfil its role as an effective instrument of international security in full measure.

## Indochina

The victory of the Vietnamese people, recorded in the Paris Agreement, and the victory of the people of Laos, recorded in the Agreement and Protocol on Laos, are major successes of the patriotic forces, which compelled US

imperialism to make substantial concessions, and cleared the way to a just political settlement in that part of the world.

However, the common enemy of these peoples has not abandoned his designs; the war in Cambodia continues to rage; with US assistance the Saigon administration and the reactionary forces of Laos are doing everything to delay the enforcement of the signed agreements. It is necessary to work for the strict and scrupulous observance of the Paris and Vientiane agreements by all the parties.

The military operations against areas controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam must be completely terminated; the political prisoners held by the Saigon authorities must be released and turned over to the parties concerned.

Moreover, in view of the gravity of the present situation it is necessary to demand in accordance with the principles and aims of the political programme of the United National Front and the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia that the USA and its satellites should immediately cease their acts of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia.

The utmost support must be rendered to the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam who, under different conditions, are fighting for independence and peace.

## The Middle East

The recent military explosion in the Middle East has shown with tragic impact the danger of the long absence of a peace settlement in that area due to Israel's continued, persistent aggression, which is a danger to peace, and Israel's refusal to implement the UN resolutions, and to the consequences of the continued occupation of Arab lands. It has confirmed also that such intransigence by Israel cannot yield success in the modern world. The latest decisions of the Security Council are based exactly on this, confirming, in fact, that in present international relations there must be no legalisation of annexation by force. These decisions show a realistic way to an immediate, just and complete settlement of the Middle East crisis. The basis of such a settlement is the immediate implementation of the Security Council resolutions of October 22, 23 and 25, 1973, the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab lands in conformity with the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 and the basic principles of the UN Charter, as well as the full guarantee for the lawful rights and security of all the states and peoples of the region, including the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland and to self-determination, in accordance with the UN resolutions.

## European Security and Cooperation

The successes of détente in Europe dovetail with the general trend toward an improvement of international relations throughout the world. Similarly, opposition to European détente is closely linked with conflicts and tensions in other regions of the globe.

That is why it is so important to do everything to speed up, expand and deepen the process of the development of European security and reject every attempt to slow down or compromise this process. This is so important to peace that it requires increasingly active efforts not only by governments but also by the peoples themselves and various public organizations on the European continent. In particular, efforts must be made to secure the signing, within a reasonable time and on the highest level, of the concluding documents of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation and also to set up a permanent body that would help foster the work that has been begun and guarantee its continuation.

Political détente, which today has received priority over military détente, is nonetheless closely related to the latter. Proceeding from this, efforts should be made to secure the speediest attainment of an agreement on ending the arms race in Europe and on reducing the numerical strength of national and foreign armed forces in Central Europe. However, at a time when the process of détente is expanding, certain circles are suggesting that the EEC should be turned into a military bloc and that it should even be given its own nuclear arms. Such plans, if they are realized, would strike a heavy blow at détente. On the basis of political and military security, equal economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation — multilateral and bilateral — could make considerable headway. In particular, it would be possible to establish useful contacts and links between the different economic groups in Europe, notably between the CMEA and the EEC. As regards the expansion of all-round cultural exchanges, its purpose is to foster understanding and trust between nations.

## Peace and Security in Asia

Peace and security in Asia is threatened primarily by the imperialist policies of aggression, subversion and by setting Asians against Asians.

The peoples of Asia have recorded major successes in the struggle against these policies. The non-alignment policy adopted by many Asian countries is a valuable contribution towards peace, security and cooperation in the region. This basically anti-imperialist policy, the heroic victory of the Vietnamese people over US imperialism, the emergence of the Republic of Bangladesh, the Japanese people's anti-militarist movement and steps to secure durable peace in the Indian subcontinent are welcome efforts against imperialist conspiracies. As a result, a decisive shift in the balance of forces for peace and freedom has been achieved.

The settlement of a number of extremely dangerous conflicts and crises provoked by imperialism and its aggressive policies and interference puts into still bolder relief the acuteness and scale of Asia's unresolved problems, which hinder the stabilization of international relations on that continent. The principal task today is to defeat by concerted efforts the manoeuvres of the imperialists, who are trying to subvert sovereignty in furtherance of their neo-colonialist aims.

The policy of creating a system of collective security in Asia, open to all Asian states, regardless of their social system, must be founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence in promoting the spirit of Bandung. It will unquestionably help to settle such important problems as the immediate elimination of still existing flashpoints of war and the surmounting of the consequences of foreign aggression and interference. On this road it is necessary steadily to intensify the struggle to rid Asia and the Pacific region of nuclear tests, foreign military bases and military blocs. The earliest possible admission of the Republic of Bangladesh to the UN and the full normalization of the situation in South Asia, and the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone are essential elements of Asian security, the idea of which is receiving growing support and merits the closest consideration by the interested countries. Such a system could create the conditions for comprehensive cooperation among Asian nations for their development and social progress.

The dialogue between the North and South Korea, begun on the initiative of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, is a further step towards the peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis, without foreign interference. But obstacles are being made by the South Korean authorities.

The governments and all the social forces in the Asian countries are faced with the need of co-ordinating their approach to the problems of peace and security on that continent. In working out this approach it would be necessary to proceed from the universally recognized principles of peaceful coexistence and international security, with due consideration for the submitted constructive ideas and principles.

## Disarmament

The atmosphere of détente must be used for the practical settlement of the problem of ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. Developing simultaneously, the processes of international détente and of disarmament must stimulate each other. From steps to curb and limit the arms race it is necessary to go over to the practical reduction of armaments and, first and foremost, to outlawing weapons of mass annihilation, with the longer-term aim of general and complete disarmament.

For this purpose it is necessary:

— that the treaties and agreements on disarmament already signed, and whose importance is self-evident, should be strictly fulfilled and that they should be subscribed to by countries that have not yet signed or ratified them;

— that all the five nuclear powers should sign a pact on the non-use of force, containing the commitment to ban nuclear weapons in perpetuity, reduce their military spending, employ part of the released funds for aiding the peoples of the developing countries, ensure the termination of nuclear tests in all spheres, and take further practical steps to end the nuclear-missile race and the improvement of nuclear missiles, and to achieve disarmament;

— that the proposals for the creation of nuclear free zones, the dismantling of foreign military bases and a ban on the siting of nuclear weapons on foreign territory should be implemented in practice;

— that a World Disarmament Conference should be held as soon as possible and the success of the talks now under way on reducing armaments and armed forces in Europe should be ensured.

## The National-Liberation Movement, the Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, national oppression, and for national independence and peace.

The forces of national liberation are one of the main elements of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement, of forging universal peace.

The national-liberation movements lawfully represent their peoples and countries.

The existence today of colonial and racist regimes built on terror and truly barbarian exploitation of millions of people is a monstrous anachronism. These regimes have the full support of international imperialism, which seeks to preserve them by the most disgraceful manoeuvres and undisguised aggression. Colonialism and racism intensify tension in various parts of the world.

Every possible support and aid must be rendered to the liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples fighting against colonialism and racism, and for self-determination and national statehood.

It is necessary to work for the full isolation of the colonialist, fascist and racist regimes of Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia.

It is necessary to work for the full national independence of peoples still languishing under the colonial yoke of the United States, Britain, France, Holland, and Spain. All the peace forces must work for the complete and unconditional implementation of the many UN resolutions on the elimination of colonialism, apartheid and other forms of racism. These forces are also working for the fulfilment of the UN resolution on the Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

All the peace forces must work for the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau by all countries.

## Development and Economic Independence

The process of international détente creates better conditions for resolving the economic and social problems of the Third World countries. So long as these problems remain unresolved or are complicated by imperialist interference and exploitation, they may touch off new international conflicts and create explosive situations.

It is intolerable that in this time of scientific and technical revolution, the legacy of colonialism and colonial social structures has not been overcome in a vast section of the globe, and that in many regions of the world there is

still hunger, disease, economic and cultural backwardness, and poverty. Undoubtedly so, because all this is aggravated by the blackmail and pressure of international monopolies, which, hand in glove with local reactionaries, support or install anti-popular and blatantly fascist regimes.

The perseverance and constructive efforts of the developing countries, fortified by effective international solidarity, could resolve these vital socio-economic problems and improve the living standards of hundreds of millions of people. This could be facilitated by a reduction of military budgets everywhere, by strict respect for the rights of peoples to own and control their natural resources, by greater economic, scientific and technical assistance to the developing countries without any political conditions.

## Protection of the Environment

Mankind is ever more strongly conscious of the dangers stemming from the deterioration and destruction of the environment. The peoples of the world have a vital stake in protecting the resources of the Earth, our common home. And this requires active and multilateral international cooperation and rational use of natural resources. A persevering and consistent drive to re-deploy part of the means now spent on armament for measures protecting and improving the ecological balance, the living and working conditions of all human beings, should be an organic part of these efforts.

It is necessary to work for the elimination of the extremely dangerous pollution of man's environment resulting from nuclear testing and the discharge of radioactive and toxic waste in rivers, seas and oceans.

## Cooperation in the Field of Education and Culture

International cultural cooperation and broader human contacts will be of great value in fortifying mutual understanding among peoples and nations and dispelling mistrust, prejudice and preconceived ideas. They will help combat the propaganda of military psychosis, fascist and militarist ideology, chauvinism and racism, and everything else that undermines the moral health of the individual. But this effect will not be achieved unless cooperation in this field is based on the democratic principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the historical traditions and laws of every country.

In this context it is possible and necessary to achieve broader and freer dissemination of information; better conditions for journalists to perform their professional duties; bilateral and multilateral agreements and conventions concerning the use of mass media for a broader exchange of spiritual values.



The forms of international cultural cooperation are varied. Important among them are cooperation in education and the cultivation in the rising generation of lofty moral ideals and respect for all peoples; broader exchange of books; more extensive and better practices in translating foreign authors; expansion of tourism and easier travel to other countries for professional and personal reasons, and the like.

## Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation

Economic, scientific and technical cooperation is not only a result, but also a guarantee of peaceful coexistence. Its growth is obstructed not by distinctions in social systems, but by international tension, the arms race, and psychological warfare. The normalization of the world situation will, as it progresses, give still greater impulse to the use in the interest of national economies of the benefits of the international division of labour, of scientific, technical and economico-industrial cooperation, especially in the case of large-scale international projects.

International economic cooperation should be based on the principles of equal rights, mutual benefit and the provision of the most favourable conditions for trade and other economic relations. Attempts to impose political and discriminatory conditions, and to interfere in the internal affairs of the other side, should be firmly excluded from international practice. The system of world-wide economic relations should conform with the interests of all concerned and, in particular, contribute to the economic independence of the developing countries.

Every step closer to real disarmament is a step closer to the peaceful reconversion of the economy, offering added opportunities for the development of the most effective export industries and the expansion of international efforts promoting scientific and technical progress.

## Social Progress and Human Rights

To live and work in an environment of peace, freedom and social justice is the inalienable right of every human being. To this end, a climate of détente, peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation is essential for promoting social progress and human rights.

Poverty, unemployment and gross violations of human rights are rife in the world, and it is working people who bear the brunt of restrictions on human rights. People cannot be genuinely free without possessing economic and social rights and their real guarantee, any more than they can be free without their civil and political rights.

Those states and governments that have not yet signed or ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights must do so to bring them into force. Adequate implementation machinery should be provided. The possibilities of existing organs, such as those within the UN, should be fully deployed.

The use of torture is on the increase and existing humanitarian conventions relating to armed conflicts are not only inadequate but often ignored. It is recommended that special measures be adopted by the United Nations to remedy these grave situations.

The right to life is inalienable for every person and should be protected by law; and states should move towards the total abolition of capital punishment. The right to life also raises the problem of the right to refuse to kill.

It is imperative to eradicate all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnics, sex, language or religion.

Working conditions must be improved, while slave and forced labour must be abolished. Health and housing conditions must be improved. Effective and comprehensive systems of social security are needed. Illiteracy must be abolished and decent public education provided. The plight of migrant workers has to be solved.

Cooperation on many levels will be needed, for example, among nations within international organizations; among trade unions, youth, women's, religious and other public organizations; and among lawyers, economists, sociologists and other scientists.

In every country the citizen should have equal access to the fruits of social progress. All economic, social, civil, political and cultural rights must be assured by law and appropriately guaranteed.

## Cooperation Between Intergovernmental and Non-Governmental Organizations

It is especially important that the efforts now being taken on the governmental level to establish the principles of peaceful coexistence and on the non-governmental level to consolidate the détente and give greater depth to cooperation between various peace forces should also be continued in more vigorous cooperation between intergovernmental organizations, global, such as the UN, and regional as the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League, etc., on the one hand, and international non-governmental organizations, on the other.

Cooperation between the two groups of international organizations is one of the ways in which public opinion can participate in world affairs, which is of particular importance in the light of the objectively increasing role of peace forces, which are united into different movements and organizations concerned with the fate of the world.

Non-governmental organizations can contribute to the efforts of inter-governmental organizations to solve the most important international political problems, such as settlement of international conflicts, setting up of security systems, promotion of disarmament, the struggle against colonialism and racism, the problems of economic and social development and the conservation of the natural environment, and implementing decisions of intergovernmental organizations by expressing as well as enlightening public opinion in support of the said function of UN and other international organizations.

To be able to fulfil this purpose, the NGOs — both national and international — should together study and define areas of common interest and action, especially in relation to the UNO and its specialized agencies.

## Chile

The fascist putsch in Chile has shown once again that the policy of the imperialist, reactionary forces poses a great danger for peoples taking the path of freedom and independent political and social development. The overthrow of the legitimate Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende is a reminder that the international monopolies, and the forces of external and domestic reaction are prepared at any time to mount a counter-offensive, including an armed coup, to establish a military dictatorship and plunge the people into a bloodbath.

Chile's experience shows once again that the struggle for democratic ideals, for basic human rights, and for the strengthening of legality and the rule of law and order based on the will of the people is closely bound up with an active policy of peace and equal cooperation in the international arena. The tragedy of Chile demonstrates once again that the forces which are against détente, against consolidating international security are the same forces which attempt to hinder the march of the peoples along the road of national liberation and social progress.

The growing solidarity with the Chilean people, the struggle against terrorism and violence by the junta, for the liberation of all democrats and patriots, and for the genuine rebirth of Chile is becoming a part of the movement for the consolidation of a universal, just and democratic peace. It is assuming truly world-wide proportions.

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This is our common approach to the crucial issues that, in the unanimous view of the participants in the Congress, hold top priority today. We are convinced that this approach can and should be a good and effective basis

for fruitful and agreed action by all who not only want peace but also intend to work for peace.

Time does not wait. The efforts of governments alone are insufficient to create a system of international relations in which war would be impossible and all the peoples and states could enjoy to the fullest the benefits of peace and the fruits of modern civilization and the scientific and technical revolution. Everyone on earth has a stake in this.

Time does not wait. We trust that the Congress will lay a sound foundation and give a powerful impulse to concerting the efforts of all peace forces for international security and disarmament, national independence, cooperation and peace.

Time does not wait.

## **For the Implementation of the Security Council Resolutions of October 22 and 23, 1973**

The events in the Middle East of October 1973 have sharply underlined the great danger which any conflict in this area constitutes for world peace.

The World Congress of Peace Forces meeting in Moscow from October 25 to 31, 1973, calls on all the peace forces, on all political parties, mass movements and public organizations in all countries to mobilize public opinion on the biggest possible scale, to ensure the immediate implementation of the Security Council resolutions of October 22 and 23, 1973.

The situation today demands swift and effective action, and it is the duty of all peace forces, national and international, to participate actively in this work, which is so necessary for the peoples of the Middle East and for the cause of world peace.

## Follow up Action

1. The World Congress of Peace Forces—the broadest and largest meeting of public organizations of all shades of political and other opinion held so far—marks only the beginning of joint national and international efforts to strengthen understanding and cooperation among peoples of different shades of political opinion for peace, national independence, international security, human rights and social progress.

2. The Congress appeals to all participating organizations, national and international, to approve the various reports and recommendations for action and to carry them into effect to the degree and in the forms suitable to the methods, traditions, situations and conditions under which they operate and in doing so to be guided by the principle of respect for the independence of the various organizations and movements concerned. The Congress also appeals to all organizations, parties and movements to carry forward the spirit of cooperation, dialogue and common action which characterized the Congress.

3. Meanwhile the World Congress entrusts the International Committee which prepared the Congress particularly to:

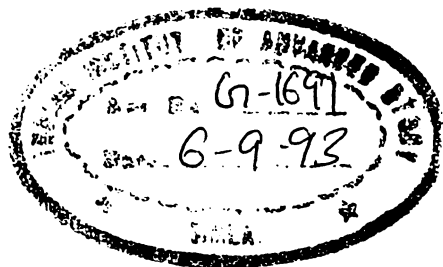
a) assure the widest possible distribution and dissemination of the decisions, reports and action proposals of the Congress,

b) send delegations to the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other intergovernmental bodies to inform them of the decisions and recommendations of the Congress, and

c) to facilitate discussions among participating organizations on ways and means for the continuation of the contacts and cooperation begun at the Congress.

4. In view of the recommendations made in various commissions, the Congress requests the members of the Steering Committee and its office bearers (subject to the consent of their respective organizations) to meet after a period of three or four months, to examine the results of these consultations, with a view to taking any further steps which may be agreed upon.

5. The Congress also suggests to all national delegations to take steps, in accordance with their own conditions and following their own methods, to carry out similar consultations in their respective countries for continued cooperation among national organizations.



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