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Prof. T. T. Hammond

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STATEMENT OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES

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STATEMENT OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES - Dec 6, 1960

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Dec. 6, 1960, ~~SECRET~~

(Text) Representatives of the communist and workers parties discussed at the present conference topical problems of the contemporary international situation and the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. The conference showed the singleness of views of its participants on the questions discussed.

The communist and workers parties unanimously confirm their fidelity to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These programs, documents of creative Marxism-Leninism, determined the principle positions of the international communist movement of the most important questions of the day, contributed to a tremendous degree in uniting the efforts of communist and workers parties in the struggle for common aims. They remain the militant standard and guide of action for the entire international communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has confirmed the correctness of the analysis, given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, of the international situation, prospects for world development, and the great mission, strength, and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the active disintegration of the colonial system under the blows of the national liberation movement, the growth of the class struggle in the capitalist world, and the further decline and decomposition of the world capitalism system.

In the world arena a preponderance of the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, of the forces of peace over the forces of war, is becoming ever more manifest. Imperialism, however, attempts to hold its positions, sabotages disarmament, tries to prolong and exacerbate in every way the cold war, and persistently prepares a new world war.

Therefore, life insistently demands still closer unification of the forces and decisive actions of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, of all peace-loving states, all peace fighters, for preventing war and safeguarding the peaceful life of the people. Life insistently demands further

solidarity of all revolutionary forces for the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, for socialism.

Our epoch, which is marked basically by the transition from capitalism to socialism, begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an era of struggle by two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist revolutions and national liberation movements, an era of the overthrow of imperialism, liquidation of the colonial system, an era of transition to the road of socialism by more and more peoples, of the worldwide triumph of socialism and communism.

A new, distinctive feature of our time is that the world socialist system is being transformed into a decisive factor in the development of human society. The strength and invincibility of socialism have been shown in the past decades in the gigantic clashes between the new and the old world. The attempts by imperialism and its striking force, fascism, to halt the course of historical development by military means have met with failure.

Imperialism proved powerless to bar the path to socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism has become a world system. Imperialism tried to put a brake on the economic growth of the socialist states. These plans have been frustrated.

~~Imperialism did everything to maintain the system of colonialist slavery, but this system also is collapsing. As the world system of socialism becomes stronger, the international situation is more and more decisively altering in favor of the peoples struggling for independence, democracy, and social progress. The chief content, the chief tendency, and the chief peculiarity of the development of human society in the present era are determined by the world socialist system, the forces struggling against imperialism and for the socialist reconstruction of society.~~

No efforts by imperialism can stop the progressive development of history. The firm prerequisites have been laid down for further and decisive victories for socialism. The complete victory of socialism is inevitable.

The course of social development confirms Lenin's prediction that the chief influence on the development of the world revolution in the countries of triumphant socialism would be exerted by their economic policy. Socialism has achieved unprecedented creative successes in production, science, and technology, and in creation of a new, free comity (sodruzhestvo) of peoples in ever greater measure, providing for their material and spiritual needs.

The time is approaching when, in percentage of world production as well, socialism will take first place. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive field of human activity, the field of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system is exerting an ever growing influence on the struggle by the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example the world system of socialism is revolutionizing the minds of workers in the capitalist world, inspiring them in the struggle against capitalism, and greatly easing the conditions of that struggle.

In capitalist countries the internal forces called on to defend peace and national independence, to insure the rule of democracy and the victory of socialism, are multiplying and becoming stronger. The world capitalist system is gripped by the profound process of decline and decomposition. The contradictions of imperialism have also been accelerated by the development of monopolistic capitalism into state monopolistic capitalism.

In intensifying the power of the monopolies over the life of the nation, state monopolistic capital unites the power of the monopolies with the power of the state into a single mechanism for the salvation of the capitalist system, for maximum increases in profits for the imperialist bourgeoisie by exploitation of the working class and plundering the broad strata of the population.

However, there are no means by which the monopolistic bourgeoisie can save capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction with the interests of the whole nation. The class and national antagonism, the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have become sharply exacerbated. Efforts to prop up the rotten system of capitalism by military means are tying still tighter the knot of these contradictions.

Never before has the conflict between productive forces and production relations in the capitalist world been so profound. Capitalism more and more hinders the utilization of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself, turning them into terrible means of destructive war.

The instability of the capitalist economy is growing. In spite of the fact that in several capitalist countries, in greater or smaller measure, there is a certain growth in production, the contradictions of capitalism are steadfastly becoming more intense, both on the national and the international scale.

The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new intra-state organizations, emerging under the slogan of "integration," are actually leading to intensification of the contradictions and the struggle between imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market between the major capitalist alliances and of the penetration by stronger imperialist states into the economic life of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism manifests itself chiefly in the principal country of contemporary imperialism--the United States. Monopoly capital in the United States reveals its obvious inability to make full use of the available productive forces. The richest country among the developed capitalist countries, the United States, has become the country of particularly large-scale chronic unemployment. Increased, <sup>chronic</sup> unemployment in industry has become a permanent feature in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, carried out at the cost of lowering the living standards of the working people, the rate of postwar production growth is slowing, and now rarely outstrips the population growth. Overproduction crises have become more frequent.

The most developed capitalist industrial country has become, <sup>a country</sup> with the most *distorted* military economy. The United States, more than any other capitalist country, is pumping out the wealth of the Asian countries, and the countries of Latin America even more so, retarding their development. The penetration by American capital into Africa is increasing. American imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.

Before they had time to overcome all the effects of the recent economic crisis, a number of capitalist countries found themselves confronted with the threat of fresh economic shocks. The anarchic nature of capitalist production is becoming increasingly aggravated. Capitalist concentration is growing on an unprecedented scale; the profits and superprofits of the monopolies are growing.

Monopoly capital has immeasurably intensified the exploitation of the working class in a new form, above all through the intensification of labor. Automation and rationalization under capitalism are bringing the working people fresh calamities. It is only through persistent struggle that the working class in some countries succeeded in achieving satisfaction of a number of its vital demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the living standard is still lower than before the war.

Despite the promises of the bourgeoisie, full employment has been reached only in a few capitalist countries--and there only temporarily.

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The dominance of the monopolies is increasingly damaging the interests of the broad masses of peasants and of wide sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the most developed ones, economically underdeveloped regions still exist and even expand, where the poverty of the masses is particularly great.

2 All this again refutes the mendacious inventions of the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists to the effect that contemporary capitalism had allegedly turned into people's capitalism and that it had created the so-called "state of general prosperity," which is able to overcome production chaos and economic crises, and to safeguard the well-being of the working people.

The uneven development of capitalism is continually changing the balance of power among the capitalist states. The more the sphere of imperialist domination shrinks, the stronger the contradictions between the imperialist powers become.

American imperialism strives to dominate many states, using aid as its chief means. It also violates the sovereignty of developed capitalist states. The dominant monopolist bourgeoisie in the highly-developed capitalist countries, having made an alliance with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping, with the support of the American imperialists, to suppress the revolutionary liberation forces, to deprive the working people of their democratic liberties, to block the struggle by the masses for social progress.

American imperialism involves these countries in the arms race, in the policy of preparing a new aggressive war, and in carrying out subversive activities against the socialist and neutral states.

The foundations of the capitalist system have decayed so greatly that in many countries the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie is no longer able to independently oppose the growing and rallying forces of democracy and progress. The imperialists are uniting in military and political alliances headed by the United States in order to fight together against the socialist camp, to suppress the national liberation movement and the workers' and socialist movements. Recent international events have given much new evidence that American imperialism is the backbone of world reaction and is the international gendarme, the enemy of the peoples of the entire world.

The system of military blocs created by the United States is weakened both by the struggle between their participants and by the struggle of the masses for liquidation of such blocs. The U.S. imperialists are trying to strengthen the aggressive blocs. This calls for even more forceful resistance by the masses. The United States remains the principal economic, financial, and military force in contemporary imperialism, although its share in the economy of the capitalist world is decreasing.

The British and French imperialists are carrying on a stubborn struggle to preserve their positions. The monopolies in West Germany and Japan, which have restored their might and which are closely tied to the U.S. monopolies, are stepping up their expansion. The West German monopolies, pursuing their imperialist policy, are trying more actively to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination in the struggle against imperialism. ~~A gigantic battle between the forces of labor and~~ ~~between democracy and reaction, between freedom and colonialism,~~ ~~is developing.~~ The victory of the widely popular revolution in Cuba has become a remarkable example to the peoples of Latin America. The anticolonialist movement for freedom and national independence in Africa has developed with an invincible force.

The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq came to a successful conclusion. The powerful movement by the masses against the Japanese-American military alliance, in favor of peace, democracy, and national independence, has developed in Japan. The militant determination of the workers is shown by the active demonstrations by the masses in Italy in defense of democracy. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal authority, in France is increasing. Major strikes by workers have developed in the United States, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium, and other capitalist countries.

The actions of the Negroes in the United States for their rights are becoming more powerful. The aspiration to unite national forces against fascist dictatorship in Spain and Portugal is growing. The democratic movement is becoming stronger in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes in Colombia and Venezuela have been overthrown. A blow has been inflicted on the openly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. There is a stirring of the national democratic movement in South Vietnam and Laos, directed against the American imperialists and their stooges.

The Indonesian people are liquidating the economic positions of the imperialists, particularly the Dutch colonialists who have remained in its country. The mass movement in defense of peace is extending; it embraces all continents. ~~All this is graphic proof that the waves of the anti-imperialist, national liberation, antiwar, class struggle are rising higher.~~

The triumph of socialism in many countries in Europe and Asia, embracing one-third of mankind, the mighty growth of forces struggling for socialism throughout the world, the steady weakening of the positions of imperialism in economic competition with socialism, the new immense upsurge of the national liberation struggle, the accelerated disintegration of the colonial system, the increased instability of the entire capitalist world economy, the increased contradictions in capitalism as a result of the development of state monopolistic capitalism and the growth of militarism, the deepening of contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the whole nation, the curtailment of bourgeois democracy, the tendency toward autocratic fascist methods of leadership, the profound crisis of bourgeois policy and ideology--these are indications that a new stage has begun in the development of a general crisis in capitalism.

The peculiarity of this stage is that it arose not in connection with World War II but during competition and struggle between the two systems, during an increasing change in the relation of forces in favor of socialism, and during a sharp aggravation among all forces of imperialism. It also arose at a time when the successful struggle by peace-loving forces for implementation and consolidation of peaceful coexistence did not permit the imperialists to ruin universal peace with their aggressive acts, and during an upsurge of the struggle by the masses for democracy, national liberation, and socialism.

All revolutionary forces are uniting against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, the common democratic movement--all these great aims of the day merge into one common current, undermining and destroying the world imperialist system.

The international working class and its chief creation, the world system of socialism, stands in the center of the modern epoch. They are the guarantee of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism, and the progress of mankind.

The world socialist system has entered upon a new stage of its development. The Soviet Union is successfully implementing the comprehensive construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism. Several of them have already entered into the period of the construction of a developed socialist society.

The whole system of socialism has gained decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and graphically show all the peoples under the yoke of capitalism that a society organized on the basis of this teaching opens up limitless possibilities for the flourishing of the economy and culture and for insuring a high living standard for people and their peaceful and happy life.



The Soviet people are successfully fulfilling the seven-year plan and are speedily creating the material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has opened up a whole epoch in the development of world civilization and has laid the foundations for the conquest of the cosmos, vividly demonstrating the economic and technical might of the socialist camp.

The Soviet Union is the first nation in history to blaze the path to communism for mankind. It is the most vivid example and the mightiest bastion for the peoples of the whole world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence, and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow to the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in vast measure to the change in the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism. Having given a new and powerful impetus to the national liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially on the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The People's Democratic Republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, Vietnam, China, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia which, together with the great Soviet Union, ~~from~~ <sup>form</sup> the mighty socialist camp, have during a short historical period achieved vast successes in the building of socialism. The people's power in these countries has proved its unshakable firmness. The dominating role in the national economy is played by socialist production relations. The exploitation of man by man has been liquidated forever or is being successfully liquidated.

The successful implementation of the policy of socialist industrialization has led to the flourishing of the economy of the socialist countries which is developing considerably quicker than the capitalist economies. All these countries have created a developed industry. Countries which were agrarian in the past have become or are becoming industrial-agrarian countries.

In all the countries of people's democracy during recent years the most difficult question of socialist construction has already been solved or is being successfully solved--the voluntary transfer of the peasantry from the path of the small-scale private property farm to the path of the large cooperative socialist farm. The Leninist cooperative plan has shown its great vitality both for those countries where a long tradition of profound adherence by the peasantry to private land property exists and for countries which have recently ended feudal relations.

The fraternal worker-peasant alliance, the maintenance and strengthening of which is, as Lenin taught, one of the highest principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been consolidated under the leadership of the working class.

In the construction of socialism this alliance of two toiling classes, which is the political basis of the socialist system, is constantly developing. It favors the further consolidation of the people's power under the leadership of the working class and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of the Leninist principle of the voluntary unity of peasants into cooperatives.

Historic changes took place in the structure of society. In the people's democracies there are no longer any landowner and capitalist classes. The working class has become the main force of society. Its ranks are growing and its consciousness and political maturity have increased. Socialism led the peasantry out of age-old misery and transformed it into an active force for social progress.

A new, socialist intelligentsia is being formed from the bone and flesh of the working people. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture.

Socialism has thus created not only the political but also the material conditions for cultural development of society and for universal development of the talents and capabilities of man. The living standard of the masses is constantly rising on the basis of the successful development of the economy.

In the multinational socialist states the unbreakable union of the working people of all nationalities has been formed and strengthened. The triumph of the Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, the genuine equality of rights of the nationalities, and the uplift of their economy and culture, set an inspiring example for the peoples struggling against national oppression.

In the people's democracies socialist ideology has gained remarkable successes in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. ~~This struggle is a long one and will be continued until complete liberation of the~~ consciousness of the people from survivals of bourgeois ideology. The moral and political unity of society which, for the first time in history, began and was consolidated in the Soviet Union, is now also growing in the other socialist countries. This makes it possible to make the best use of the creative energy of free workers for the rise of productive forces and the flourishing of society. The socialist society constantly improves itself and becomes increasingly more mature. The communist attitude toward labor is daily being born in it. So are other elements of the future communist society.

Methods of management of the socialist economy and of economic planning are becoming more and more perfect, further development of socialist democracy is taking place, and the participation of the masses in management of economic and cultural construction is widening. Some functions of the state are gradually being handed over to social organizations.

Today, not only in the Soviet Union, but in other socialist countries as well, the socio-economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have been liquidated. The united forces of the socialist camp provide a reliable guarantee to each socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states into a single camp, the increasingly stronger unity, and the constantly growing might of this camp insures a complete victory of socialism, within the framework of the entire system.

In past years, as a result of heroic work by the working class and peasantry, and enormous work by the communist and workers parties, favorable conditions for the further rapid development of productive forces, for a maximum gain of time, and for achieving the victory of the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism have been created.

The Marxist-Leninist parties heading the socialist states consider it their duty to utilize these possibilities ably and correctly. The communist parties, having achieved major victories and having passed serious tests, have accumulated rich, varied experiences in leading socialist construction.

The successes of the socialist countries and of the entire socialist camp have been achieved through application of the general laws of socialist construction, taking into account the historic peculiarities of each country and the interests of the whole socialist system, through the efforts of the peoples of those countries, in close fraternal cooperation and mutual international assistance, and particularly through the fraternal international assistance of the Soviet Union.

Experience in the development of the socialist countries again shows that a most important international condition for their achievements and successes is mutual assistance and support, using all the advantages of the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp countries.

The expectations of the imperialists, renegades, and revisionists on the possibility of a split in the socialist camp are built on sand and are doomed to failure. All the socialist countries guard the unity of the socialist camp as the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by the community of socialist production relations and is developing on the basis of the economic laws of socialism. The interests of its successful development require consistent application in socialist construction of the law of planned proportional development and development of the creative initiative of the masses.

It requires constant perfection of the system of international division of labor by coordination of economic plans and specialization and cooperation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary mutual advantage and the all-round raising of scientific and technical standards.

It requires a study of collective experience, strengthening of cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance, a gradual overcoming on this basis of historical differences in levels of economic development, and establishment of a material base for the almost simultaneous transition of all peoples of the socialist system to communism.

A collective experience of the entire socialist camp has been accumulated through the practice of building socialism in various countries. A study by the fraternal parties of this experience and its creative application and enrichment, while considering concrete conditions and national peculiarities, is the immutable law for the development of every socialist country. The communist and workers parties of the socialist countries regard their international obligation, in developing industrial and agricultural production in every country at a high rate and in accordance with the existing possibilities, to be to make full use of all advantages of the socialist system and internal resources of every country in order to achieve with common efforts and within the briefest possible period of time the historical task--to outstrip the world capitalist system in absolute volume of industrial and agricultural production and, following this, to outstrip the most economically developed capitalist countries in the level of per capita production and increased living standards.

The solution of this task requires steadfast improvement in political and economic work, constant perfection of the methods of managing the national economy, scientifically-based socialist economic management, the total raising of labor productivity on the basis of uninterrupted technical progress, planned management of the economy, steadfast adherence to the Leninist principles of material incentives, development of moral stimuli to work for the benefit of the society by raising political awareness among the masses, and implementation of control over the measures of labor and consumption.

The essential material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism is establishment of a high level of production on the basis of modern technology, electrification of the national economy, and mechanization and automation of production, without which it is impossible to insure the abundance of consumer goods essential for a communist society.

It is essential to develop communist social relations, to use every means to raise political awareness among the masses, and to educate the man of a new communist society.

The socialist camp, a social, economic, and political comity (Sodruzhestvo) of free sovereign peoples, is united by close links of international socialist solidarity, common interests, and aims along the road of socialism and communism.

Strict observance of the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist internationalism is the inviolable law governing mutual relations between socialist countries. True equality and independence of every country belonging to it are safeguarded in the socialist camp. Guided by the principles of full equality, mutual advantage, and fraternal mutual aid, the socialist states are perfecting complete economic, political, and cultural cooperation, which is in accord with the interests of every individual socialist country and of the socialist camp as a whole.

It is one of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system that the Marxist-Leninist proposition that a lessening of antagonism among the classes is followed by a lessening of antagonism among nations has been confirmed by practical experience. Contrary to the laws governing the capitalist system, in which antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations, and states are inherent, and which lead to military conflicts, the nature of the socialist system is devoid of objective reasons for contradictions and conflicts among the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to an increasing cohesion of states and nations and to the strengthening of all forms of cooperation between them.

Socialism organically combines the development of each nation's economy, culture, and statehood with the interests of strengthening and developing the entire world socialist system and with an increasing solidarity of nations.

The interests of the socialist system as a whole harmonize with national interests. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist comity (sodruzhestvo) has come into being and is growing stronger. Political isolation and national egoism, which are part of capitalism, have been replaced by fraternal friendship and mutual assistance by the peoples, engendered by the socialist system.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, the interests of socialism and peace, call for a correct combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism. Every communist party which has become the ruling party in a state bears the historic responsibility for both the fate of its own country and the fate of the entire socialist camp.

The declaration of 1957 notes with full justification that a departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, from socialist revolution and socialist construction, due to the increased role of national

peculiarities damages the common cause of socialism. At the same time the declaration also correctly notes that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction in accordance with the concrete historic conditions of each individual country and that it does not permit a mechanical copying of the policy and tactics of the communist parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities by a proletarian party may divorce it from life and from the masses and may damage the cause of socialism.

Manifestation<sup>S</sup> of nationalism and national narrow mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. To consolidate fraternal relations and friendship among the countries of socialism, requires a Marxist-Leninist internationalistic policy of communist and workers' parties, education of all working people in the spirit of combining internationalism with patriotism, and a firm struggle to overcome the vestiges of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The communist and workers parties have unfailingly educated the workers in a spirit of socialist internationalism, of irreconciliation with all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. In the solidarity and unity of the communist and workers parties, of the peoples of the socialist countries, in their faithfulness to Marxist-Leninist doctrines lies the principal source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the entire socialist camp.

The peoples of the socialist countries, building the road to communism, are creating the prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world follow with profound interest the creative activity of the builders of socialism and communism. This lays on the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries a responsibility to the international workers movement for successful construction of socialism and communism.

The communist and workers' parties see that their task is to unfailingly strengthen the great socialist community of peoples, the international role and influence of which is growing each year. The time has come when the socialist states, having formed a world system, have become an international force, exerting a great influence on world development. True opportunities have appeared to solve the most important problems of the day in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The most burning problem of our time is the problem of war and peace. War is the permanent companion of capitalism. The exploitation of man by man and the destruction of man by man are part of the capitalist system.

Imperialism has brought upon mankind two destructive world wars, and it now threatens to lead it into a yet more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means have been created for mass destruction and annihilation. The application of these means in a new war could cause unprecedented destruction to entire countries and could turn the large centers of world production and world culture into ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, including those in nonbelligerent countries.

Imperialism brings a serious danger to all mankind. Today, as never before, particularly sharp vigilance is demanded of the peoples. As long as imperialism continues, the source of aggressive wars will remain.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war has still not passed. The chief force of aggression and war is U.S. imperialism. It embodies in its policy the ideology of belligerent reaction. Under the guise of defense against the threat of communism, U.S. imperialism, with the participation of the imperialists in Britain, France, and West Germany, has drawn many countries into the NATO, CENFO, SEATO, and other military blocs. It has enmeshed all the so-called free world, that is the capitalist countries dependent on it, in the network of military bases directed mainly at the socialist countries.

The presence of these blocs and bases threatens general peace and security and not only tramples on the sovereignty of but also threatens the very existence of those states which grant territory for bases for the U.S. militarists. The imperialist forces in the United States, Britain, and France have entered into a criminal plot with West German imperialism.

In West Germany militarism has been reborn, the restoration of a regular mass army is being forced under the command of Hitlerite generals, whom the U.S. imperialists are arming with rocket and nuclear weapons and other modern means of mass destruction. This arouses a growing and decisive protest from the peace-loving peoples. This aggressive army is being granted bases in France and other West European countries.

The threat to the peace and security of the peoples of Europe from West German imperialism is intensifying. The West German revanchists are openly stating their intention to review the frontiers established after World War II. Like the Hitlerite clique in its time, the West German militarists are preparing a war against the socialist countries and other European states and are striving to implement their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been turned into a breeding ground of international provocations. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and an easing of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of West German imperialism must be opposed by the united might of all peace-loving states and peoples in Europe. In the struggle against the aggressive aspirations of West German militarism an especially great role rests with the GDR. The participants in the conference consider it the duty of all states of the socialist camp, of all peace-loving people to defend the integrity of the GDR, the frontline of socialism in West Europe and the true expounder of the peace-loving aspirations of the German people.

The U.S. imperialists are actively reviving a hotbed of war in the Far East as well. Trampling the national independence of the Japanese people and against their will, they, in a conspiracy with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, have imposed on Japan a new military agreement which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the CPR, and other peace-loving states.

The American invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the DPR, occupied South Korea, and are increasingly interfering in the affairs of South Vietnam. They have turned these areas into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and adventures.

Threatening aggression against Cuba, interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, the American imperialists are striving to create new hotbeds of war in various parts of the world. The American imperialists are using such forms of regional alliances as the Organization of American States in order to preserve their economic and political control and to draw the Latin American countries into their aggressive designs.

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Having created a huge war apparatus, American imperialism does not want to let it be wound up. The imperialists are wrecking every constructive proposal by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states directed toward disarmament.

The arms race continues. Stocks of nuclear weapons grow menacingly. Despite the protests of their own people and the peoples of other countries, especially those in Africa, the French ruling circles have begun to manufacture and test atomic weapons. The American militarists are preparing to resume pernicious atomic tests. Military provocations, with the threat of serious international conflicts, continue.

The American ruling circles wrecked the Paris conference with their policy of provocations and aggressive actions. They set their course toward heightening international tension and aggravating the cold war. ~~The military threat has increased.~~



Imperialistic provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. American imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has been dealt new and serious blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. However, real forces which can wreck its aggressive plans have taken shape. There is no fatal inevitability of war. Had the imperialists had their way they would have already plunged mankind into the abyss of the horrors of a new world war, but the time has passed when the imperialists could arbitrarily decide whether war is to be or not to be.

More than once in the past few years the imperialists, by unleashing local wars, have put mankind on the brink of a world catastrophe. The decisive position of the USSR, the other socialist states, and all peace-loving forces put an end to the British-French-Israeli intervention in Egypt and averted the imperialists' military invasion of Syria, Iraq, and some other countries. The heroic Algerian people still wage a heroic struggle for independence and freedom. An increasingly decisive rebuff to the criminal actions by the imperialists is being dealt by the peoples of the Congo and Laos.

Experience confirms that it is possible to struggle effectively against local wars unleashed by the imperialists and to successfully liquidate the hotbeds of these wars.

The time has come when it is possible to stop the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to unleash a world war. World war can be prevented by the united efforts of the world socialist camp, the international workers class, the national liberation movement of all countries which are against war, and all peace-loving forces.

The development of international relations is determined in our times by the struggle of two social systems, by the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace, and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction, and aggression, and by the struggle where the preponderance of the forces of socialism, peace, and democracy becomes ever more evident. For the first time in history the struggle against war is being waged by great and organized forces: The mighty Soviet Union which has won first place in the world in the decisive spheres of science and technology, the whole socialist camp which has placed at the service of peace its great material and political might, the ever-increasing number of the peace-loving states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which are vitally interested in the preservation of peace, the international working class and its organizations and, primarily, the communist parties, the national liberation movement of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries, the world movement of peace partisans, and neutral countries which do not share the imperialist course of unleashing a war and take a stand in favor of peaceful coexistence.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is also supported by a certain part of the bourgeoisie in various capitalist countries, soberly assessing the correlation of forces and the heavy consequences of modern war.

In the interest of the preservation of universal peace the widest possible united front of the supporters of peace and fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism is required. The united and vigorous actions of all the peace-loving forces can persevere peace and prevent a new war.

All the democratic and peace-loving forces have at present no other more urgent task than deliverance of mankind from a world-wide thermonuclear catastrophe. ~~The unprecedented destructive nature of modern war machinery imperiously demands that basic actions~~ of all antimilitary peace-loving forces be concentrated on the prevention of war. It is impossible to delay the struggle against war until it flares up, as then it could be too late to wage the struggle for many parts of the world and their population. The struggle against the dangers of a new world war must be developed without waiting for atomic and hydrogen bombs to start falling. This struggle must be waged now, with efforts increasing every day. It is most important to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war and not allow it to flare up.

To struggle for peace today means to exercise the greatest vigilance, to constantly expose the policy of imperialism, to vigilantly follow the intrigues and machinations of warmongers, to raise the sacred anger of the peoples against those who take a course toward war, to organize all the peace-loving forces, to uninterruptedly intensify vigorous action of the masses in the defense of peace, and to consolidate cooperation with all states not interested in new wars.

It is essential in the countries where the imperialists have established their military bases to intensify the struggle for the abolition of those bases, which is an important condition for the strengthening of national independence, the defense of sovereignty, and the prevention of war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against capitalist monopolies linked with the imperialists in the United States.

It is important at present, as never before, to struggle consistently in every country so that the movement for the benefit of peace will constantly intensify and spread in towns and villages, undertakings and offices.

The movement of peace partisans is the most widespread movement of our times, embracing people of various political and religious convictions and belonging to various social classes, but united by the noble striving to prevent new wars and to insure a stable peace.

The further strengthening of the world socialist system will give the greatest significance in the preservation of a stable peace. Until disarmament is implemented, the socialist countries must keep their defensive might at the necessary level. The ending of the arms race, the banning of atomic weapons as well as their tests and production, the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories, the dissolution of military blocs, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the transformation of West Berlin into a free demilitarized city, the frustration of the aggressive intrigues of the West German revenge seekers, and the prevention of the rebirth of Japanese militarism--these are the tasks the solution of which, in the opinion of communists, is essential above all to secure the cause of peace.

History has placed a great responsibility for the averting of a new world war first and foremost in the international working class. The imperialists are engaging in a plot and joining forces to unleash a thermonuclear war. The international working class must tighten its ranks to save mankind from the catastrophe of a new world war. No divergencies in political, religious, or other questions must hinder the cohesion of all the forces of the working class against the danger of war.

The hour has come to set against the forces of war the mighty will and united action of all the detachments and organizations of the international proletariat, to unite all its forces for the averting of war and the preservation of peace.

The communist parties consider the struggle for peace to be its primary task. They call on the working class, trade union, cooperative, women's, and youth unions and organizations, all working people, regardless of political or religious convictions, through mass struggle to give a decisive rebuff to any aggressive act of the imperialists. If the imperialist madmen unleash a war, the peoples will sweep capitalism away and bury it.

The unshakable basis of the foreign policy of the <sup>socialist</sup> ~~imperialist~~ countries is the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and the economic competition between the socialist countries and the capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system is unfolding more and more extensively its superiority over the capitalist system in all fields of the economy, culture, science, and technology.

The near future will bring new successes to the forces of peace and socialism. The USSR will be transformed into the greatest industrial power in the world. China will become a mighty industrial country. The socialist system will turn out more than half of the world's industrial production. The zones of peace will become still more extensive. The workers movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in colonies and dependent countries will gain new victories. The disintegration of the colonialist system will be completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will become absolute.

In these conditions, still prior to the complete victory of socialism on earth, while capitalism is preserved in parts of the world, a real opportunity will arise to exclude a world war from the life of society. The victory of socialism throughout the world will finally eliminate the social and national reasons for the outbreak of any wars.

Communists of the whole world unanimously and systematically defend peaceful coexistence, decisively struggle for the prevention of war. Communists must unflinchingly work among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, to prevent underestimation of the danger of war.

Under conditions of a world divided into two systems, the only correct and sensible principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social structures, which was proposed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st CPSU congresses and the documents of other communist and workers parties.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence advanced jointly by the CPR and the Indian Republic, as well as the propositions adopted by the Bandung conference, meet the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples. Peaceful coexistence between states with different systems or destructive war--that is the only way the question can now be put. There is no other way.

Communists decisively reject the American doctrine of the cold war and brinkmanship as a policy leading to a thermonuclear catastrophe. Defending the principles of peaceful coexistence, communists seek the complete termination of the cold war, the disbandment of military blocs, the liquidation of military bases, universal and total disarmament under international control, the solution of controversial international questions by means of negotiations, respect for the equality of rights of states, their territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and the extensive development of commercial, cultural, and scientific links among the peoples.

The policy of ~~peaceful coexistence~~ corresponds to the fundamental interests of all peoples who do not want new, bloody wars and who seek a stable peace. This policy contributes to the consolidation of the position of socialism and the growth of prestige and international influence of the socialist countries; it ~~enhances the authority and influence of communist parties in capitalist countries~~. Peace is the true ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism and against capitalism. ✓

The line of peaceful coexistence is a line of mobilization of the masses, of development of intensified actions against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence among states does not mean, as the revisionists assert, a rejection of the class war. Coexistence between states of differing social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In the conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are created for developing the class struggle in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of peoples of colonial and dependent countries. In turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle contribute to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence. Communists consider it their duty to strengthen the faith of the popular masses in the possibility of strengthening peaceful coexistence, in their determination to avert world war. They will contribute in every way to the peoples who are actively struggling for peace, democracy, and national liberation, thus further weakening and narrowing the positions of imperialism.

Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not mean reconciliation between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies an intensification of the struggle of the working class and of all communist parties for the triumph of socialist ideas. However, the ideological and political quarrels between states must not be settled by war.

The conference holds that implementation of the program of universal and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic significance for the fate of mankind. The realization of this program amounts to liquidation of the very possibility of waging war between countries. Yet its realization is not an easy task. It is encountering the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. An active and resolute struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism for the realization of that program is therefore imperative.

This struggle must be waged with an ever-increasing drive. In exerting persistent efforts with a view to achieving real results--the prohibition of the tests and manufacture of nuclear weapons, liquidation of military blocs and military bases on foreign territories, a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments--the road toward general disarmament is thus cleared.

One can isolate the aggressive circles, thwart the armaments race and preparations for war, and force the imperialists to come to an agreement on general disarmament by an active and resolute struggle of the socialist and other peace-loving states, the international working class, and the broad popular masses of all countries.

The armament race is neither a war deterrent nor a factor leading to full employment and prosperity. It leads to war. It is only a handful of monopolists and war speculators who are interested in the armament race. The demand for the reduction of military expenditures and use of the facilities thus released to raise the living standards of the people's masses has become a permanent demand of the peoples of capitalist countries. It is necessary in every country to deploy a broad mass movement for the use of the facilities and resources freed through disarmament for peaceful production, housing construction, health, national education, social security, development of scientific research, and so forth. Disarmament has now become a militant demand of the popular masses, an urgent historic necessity. The imperialists must be forced to meet this demand of the peoples by active and resolute struggle.

The communist and workers parties of the socialist countries will also in the future consistently follow the line of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and will exert every effort to spare the peoples the horrors and disasters of a new war. They will display utmost vigilance toward imperialism. They will strengthen the might and defense capacity of the entire socialist camp by every means. They will take all necessary measures to safeguard the security of peoples and to preserve peace.

The communists see their historic mission not only in the elimination of exploitation and poverty on a worldwide scale and in the permanent elimination of the possibility of war, but also in delivering mankind in the present time from the nightmare of a new world war. The communist parties of all countries will devote all their efforts and all their energy to realization of that great historic mission.

Over vast expanses of the world, national-liberation revolutions have triumphed. About 40 new sovereign states have sprung up in Asia and Africa in the 15 postwar years. The victory of the Cuban revolution was a powerful stimulus to the struggle of the Latin American peoples for complete national liberation.

Colonialism

A new historic period in the life of mankind has begun. The freed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have begun to take an active part in international politics. The total fiasco of ~~capitalism~~ is inevitable. The downfall of the system of colonial slavery under the pressure of the national-liberation movement is the second phenomenon of historic importance after the formation of the world system of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has awakened the East, has drawn the colonial peoples into the general stream of the worldwide revolutionary movement. The USSR's victory in World War II, the establishment of **people's** democracies in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of a world socialist system have to a great extent accelerated the development of this process. The forces of world socialism have decisively contributed to the struggle of the peoples of colonial and independent countries for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. The socialist system became the reliable shield of the independent national development of liberated peoples.

The international workers movement is giving great support to the national liberation movement. The face of Asia has radically changed; the colonial systems in Africa are crumbling. A front of active struggle with imperialism has opened in Latin America. The independence which hundreds of millions of people won in Africa, Asia, and other areas of the world has been won by them in fierce encounters with imperialism. The communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary importance of national-liberation wars, and are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of a world socialist system and the weakening of imperialism's position have given oppressed peoples new possibilities for gaining independence.

The peoples of colonial countries are gaining their independence both by means of an armed fight and by nonmilitary means, taking into consideration the concrete conditions of every country. They are striving for lasting victory on the basis of a powerful national liberation movement. Colonial powers do not hand freedom to colonial peoples as a gift; they do not of their own free will leave the countries they exploit.

The main stronghold of present-day colonialism is the United States. The imperialists, headed by the United States, are making desperate efforts to maintain the colonial exploitation of the peoples of former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies are trying to hold on to the levers of economic control and political influence in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These efforts are directed at maintaining old positions in the economies of liberated countries, the capture of new positions under the guise of economic aid, the dragging of the liberated countries into military blocs, the establishment of military-dictatorial regimes in these countries, and the creation of military bases.

The imperialists are striving to emasculate, to undermine the national sovereignty of the liberated countries, to distort the meaning of self-determination of nations, to foist under the flag of so-called "interdependence" new forms of colonial domination, to place their puppets in power in these countries, to bribe a certain part of the bourgeoisie by using the poisoned weapon of national dissension to weaken the strength of young and still weak states. To this end aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances are actively used. The most reactionary circles among local exploiting classes act as the accomplices of the imperialists.

The essential tasks of national revival in countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke can only be accomplished through a resolute struggle against imperialism and any surviving feudalism by a united national-democratic front of the patriotic forces of a nation, strengthening political independence, carrying out agrarian reform in the interests of peasants, liquidating the remnants of feudalism, tearing out the economic roots of imperialist domination, limiting and forcing foreign monopolies out of the economy, setting up and developing a national industry, raising the living standard of the population, democratizing public life, pursuing an independent and peace-loving foreign policy, and developing economic and cultural cooperation with socialist and other friendly countries. These common national democratic tasks form the ground on which the progressive forces of a nation can and, indeed, do unite in liberated countries.

The working class, which has played a prominent role in the struggle for national liberation, favors a consistent implementation of the tasks of the national, antiimperialist democratic revolution against the attempts of the reactionary forces to put a brake on social progress. Solution of the agrarian problem is of primary importance for these countries, for it directly affects the interests of the huge majority of the population. Without profound agrarian changes it is impossible to solve the food problem, to sweep away all the residue of the middle ages fettering the development of productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and expansion on a democratic basis of the state sector of the national economy, particularly in industry, independent of foreign monopolies and consistently becoming the dominant factor in the country's economy is of great importance in these countries. The alliance of the working class and peasantry represents a most important force in winning and defending national independence, implementing profound democratic transformations, and insuring social progress. This alliance is destined to be the basis of a wide national front. The degree of participation by national bourgeoisie in the liberation struggle depends, not in small measure, on its strength and solidarity.



All national patriotic forces, all elements of a nation that are ready to fight for national independence against imperialism may play a great role. In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of colonial and dependent countries which is not tied up with the imperialist circles is objectively interested in implementation of the fundamental tasks of the anti-imperialistic and antifeudal revolution, and therefore maintains its ability to participate in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In this sense it has a progressive character, but it is not stable (ona neustoychiva). Along with its progressiveness, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism.

Owing to the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, the degree of its participation in the revolution in various countries is different. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in relations between class forces, on the degree of contradictions between imperialism, feudalism, and the popular masses, on the profundity of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism, and the national bourgeoisie.

Having gained national independence, the peoples seek an answer to social problems and to the questions of consolidating national independence. Various classes and parties propose various solutions. What path of development to choose is an internal matter for the peoples themselves. With the growing aggravation of social contradictions, the national bourgeoisie increasingly shows an inclination toward compromises with internal reaction and imperialism. The popular masses, on the other hand, become convinced that the best path for liquidating age-old backwardness and improving their living conditions is the path of noncapitalist development. Only in this way will the peoples be able to rid themselves of exploitation, poverty, and hunger. The working class and the wide masses of the peasantry are destined to play a most important role in solving this basic social problem.

In the contemporary historic situation favorable international and internal conditions arise in many countries for the formation of an independent state of national democracy, that is, a state consistently defending its political and economic independence, fighting against imperialism and its military blocs, against the military bases on its territory, a state fighting against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialistic capital, a state rejecting the dictatorial and despotic methods of government, a state in which wide democratic rights and liberties are insured to the people--freedom of speech, press, assembly, and demonstration, and the right to create political parties and social organizations--a state which makes possible the struggle for carrying out agrarian reform and implementing other democratic and social reforms, a state in which the people participate in determining state policy.

The formation and strengthening of a state of national democracy insures the possibility of rapidly attaining social progress and playing an active role in the struggle of the peoples for peace, against the aggressive policy of the imperialist camp, and for the complete liquidation of the colonial yoke.

The communist parties are actively fighting for the consistent fulfillment of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution, for creation of the state of national democracy for the decisive improvement of the living standard of the popular masses. They support the actions of national governments which lead to the consolidation of the gains they have won and which undermine the positions of imperialism. At the same time, they come out actively against the antidemocratic, antipopular acts, against those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence.

The communists unmask the attempts of the reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie to present their mercenary, narrow class interests as the interests of the entire nation, and the demagogic use of socialist slogans by bourgeois politicians for the same purpose. They demand genuine democratization of public life, uniting all progressive forces for the struggle against despotic regimes or to thwart any tendency to set up such regimes.

The aims of communists correspond to the highest interests of the nations. The attempts of reactionary circles, under the flag of anticommunism, to smash the national front and to isolate communists, the leading part of the liberation movement, and weaken the strength of the national movement, contradict the national interests of the peoples and threaten the loss of national victories which have been won.

The countries of socialism are the sincere and true friends of peoples struggling for liberation and those who have liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke of oppression. Rejecting as a matter of principle any kind of interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their international duty to cooperate with the peoples struggling for liberation and those who have liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke of oppression. Rejecting as a matter of principle any kind of interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their international duty to cooperate with the peoples in their struggle for the strengthening of national independence.

They render every aid and support to these countries in their progressive development toward the creation of a national industry, in the development and consolidation of their national economy, in the training of their own cadres, and work with them in the struggle for peace throughout the world and against imperialist aggression.

Sensitive workers in the parent states have systematically struggled for the self-determination of nations oppressed by imperialism, realizing that anyone who oppresses others cannot be free himself. Now, when these peoples are stepping onto the road of national independence, it is the international duty of working people and all democratic forces of industrially developed capitalist countries to give them every support in the struggle against the imperialists, for national independence and its consolidation, and to help them in the successful solution of tasks of economic and cultural renewal. Acting thusly, they are defending the interests of the popular masses of their own countries.

The complete and final liquidation of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations is dictated by the entire course of world history in the last decade. All peoples still languishing in the bondage of colonialism must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be removed. The liquidation of colonialism will have a very great significance for the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of universal peace.

The conference expresses solidarity with all peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, waging an heroic antiimperialist struggle. The conference salutes the peoples of young African states which have attained political independence, an important step toward their complete liberation. The conference expresses warm sympathy and support for the heroic Algerian people in their struggle for freedom and national independence. It demands immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It angrily condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa, apartheid, and called upon the international democratic public to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The conference demands nonintervention in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, Congo, and all liberated countries. All socialist countries, the international workers and communist movement, consider it their duty to render every moral and material support to peoples struggling for their liberation from imperialist and colonial oppression.

The new balance of forces in the world arena opens new opportunities for communist and workers parties for the solution of the historic tasks facing them in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The communist parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolutions in accordance with the historic and social conditions of their countries and in light of the international situation. They wage a selfless struggle to do everything under present circumstances to defend the interests of the working class and the masses, to improve their living conditions, to extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people, without postponing this until the victory of socialism.

Realizing that the main burden of the struggle for liberation of their people from the capitalist yoke rests on their shoulders, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will increasingly take the offensive against the rule of oppressors and exploiters in every aspect of political, economic, and ideological life in every country.

In this struggle the masses are trained and conditions are created for decisive battles to overthrow capitalism, and for the victory of the socialist revolution. The main blow in present conditions is directed with increasing determination against capitalist monopolies who are the main culprits of the arms race and the bulwark of reaction and aggression, and against the entire system of state and monopoly capitalism which stands guard over their interests.

In non-European, developed capitalist countries under the political, economic, and military rule of American imperialism, the working class and the masses aim the main blow against the rule of American imperialism and against monopoly capitalists and other forces of internal reaction who betray the interests of the nation.

In this struggle all democratic and patriotic forces in the nation who are struggling for the victory of a revolution for genuine national independence and democracy, whose attainment creates conditions for the solution of tasks of the socialist revolution, become consolidated in a united front.

Big monopolies attack the interests of the working class and the masses on all fronts. The exploitation of the working people increases along with the process of ruining the masses of the peasantry. At the same time the difficulties felt by the lower and middle class--bourgeoisie--in the towns are growing. The oppression by the big monopolies is becoming increasingly burdensome to all sections of the nations.

As a result, along with aggravation of the principal class conflict of bourgeois society--between labor and capital--the contradictions between a handful of monopolists and all the people at the current stage become more acute.

The monopolies are trying to destroy, or to cut down, the democratic rights of the masses. In some countries open fascist terror still runs rampant. In several countries new forms of fascism are developing. Dictatorial methods of rule are combined with a fiction of a parliamentary system, which is actually without democratic content and is reduced to a mere formality. Many democratic organizations are outlawed and must go underground. Thousands of fighters for the working class and for peace have been thrown into prisons.

On behalf of all communists of the world, the conference expresses the feelings of proletarian solidarity to those who are languishing in prison torture chambers, the glorious sons and daughters of the working class and the democrats of the United States, Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the UAR, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, Sudan, and other countries.

The conference calls for development of a mighty international campaign for liberation of the fighters for peace, national independence, and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and the petit bourgeoisie have a deep interest in eliminating the rule of the monopolies. Favorable conditions are being created for rallying all these forces. Communists feel it is fully possible to implement such a union on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the defense and development of democracy, the nationalization of the most important branches of the economy, the democratization of administration, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes to meet the needs of the population, the carrying out of radical agrarian reforms, the improvement of living conditions, the defense of the interests of the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie from the arbitrary rule of the monopolies.

Implementation of such measures would be an important move toward social progress and would be in the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic. They do not end exploitation of man by man, but their implementation would limit the might of the monopolies, increase the authority and political might of the working class, facilitate isolation of the more reactionary forces, and help unify the progressive forces.

Participation of wide sections of the population in the struggle for democratic transformations convinces them of the necessity for concerted action with the working class, helps increase their political activity. The most important duty of the working class and its communist vanguard

is to lead and insure the success of the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms and for overthrow of monopoly rule.

Communists favor a general democratization of economic and social life, of all administrative, political, and cultural organizations and institutions. The struggle for democracy is envisaged by communists as an integral part of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle communists are constantly strengthening their ties with the masses, raising the level of their political consciousness, leading the masses to an understanding of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the need for their implementation.

This is the fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the reformers, who are committed to reforms within the framework of the capitalist order and deny the need for socialist revolution. Marxist-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples of capitalist countries, by constant struggle, will see that only socialism is their salvation.

Now, when more and more new segments of the population are being brought into the class struggle, extreme significance is assumed by intensification of the work of communists in trade unions, cooperatives, and among the unorganized population. Today new opportunities have appeared to bring the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, for the great ideals of communism.

Lenin's great behest "go to the masses, work among the masses, strengthen your ties with the masses in order to carry them with you" is the most important task of every communist party. The reestablishment of the unity of the trade union movement in countries where it is split, and also on the international scale, is of prime importance for increasing the predominance of the working class in political life and for successful defense of their interests. Workers in various trade unions have common interests. The most important recent contribution to democracy is that each time the different trade union associations have acted together they have usually, because of their unity, satisfied the workers' demands. The communist parties consider establishment of the unity of trade unions to be a basic prerequisite and will work persistently for its achievement.

In countries where trade union democracy does not exist in practice, the struggle for trade union unity demands constant efforts to achieve the movement's independence, to achieve recognition and respect for union rights of all working people without political or any other type of discrimination.

The interests of peace and social progress also demand the unity of all other mass democratic movements, both nationally and internationally. The unity of mass organizations can be achieved by concerted action for the preservation of peace, for national independence, for preservation and expansion of democratic rights, for improvement of living conditions, and for extension of the social rights of the working peoples.

A decisive part in the struggle for fulfillment of these tasks by the popular masses in capitalist countries is played by the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which is the principal motive force toward social revolution.

The main obstacle to achievement of the working class aims is still the split in its ranks. The ruling classes are interested in preserving this split on an international scale and so are the rightwing social democratic leaders and the reactionary leaders of trade unions. The communists are coming out resolutely in favor of overcoming that split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to methods of deception and bribery in order to divide and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. Developments in recent years confirmed that this split is undermining the working class and that it is imperialist reaction alone that benefits from it. Some rightwing social democratic leaders have openly changed to the positions of imperialism and now defend the capitalist system and the splitting of the working class. Because of their hatred of communism or their fear of the growing influence of socialism in the world arena, they surrendered to the reactionary conservative forces. In a number of countries the rightwing leadership achieved social democratic party acceptance of programs in which it openly repudiated Marxism, the class struggle, and traditional socialist slogans. In so doing it rendered yet another service to the bourgeoisie.

Resistance to that policy by the rightwing leaders is growing within the social democratic parties. It also embraces some party officials. The forces favoring unity of action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the social democratic parties, particularly the workers, are peace partisans.

The communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions and the rightwing opportunist practices of social democracy and will continue to work to influence the social democratic masses to adopt the positions of a consistent class struggle against capitalism and for the victory of socialism.

The communists are firmly convinced that ideological differences that exist between them and the social democrats should not be an obstacle to the exchange of views on urgent problems of the workers movement and of the common struggle against the war danger in particular. The communists see in the social democrats their class brothers. They are frequently working with them in trade unions and other organizations and are waging a common struggle for the interests of the working class and of all peoples.

The interests of the workers movement insistently dictate that the communist and social democratic parties take concerted action on a national and international scale to work for prohibition of the production, tests, and use of nuclear weapons, to work for setting up atom-free zones, for realization of universal and complete disarmament under international control, for liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, for withdrawal of foreign troops, for aid to the national liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries, for safeguarding national sovereignty, for consolidating democracy and warding off the fascist danger, for raising the living standards of the working people, for shortening the work week without reduction of pay, and so forth.

Millions of social democrats and certain social democratic parties, in one way or another, have already expressed themselves in favor of solving these tasks. It may be stated boldly that the working class of many capitalist countries, overcoming divisions in their ranks and achieving unity of action in all sectors, could inflict a severe blow to the policy of ruling circles of capitalist countries and force them to cease preparations for a new war; it could cut across the advance of monopolistic capital and insure the satisfaction of its urgent, vital, democratic demands.

In the struggle for improving the living conditions of workers, the expansion and preservation of their democratic rights, the conquest and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and in the struggle for the conquest of power and the building of socialism, communist parties favor the establishment of cooperation with socialist parties.

Communists possess the valuable, scientifically based, great doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, confirmed by life and the rich international experience of socialist construction. They are prepared for discussion with social democrats, confident that this is the best way for juxtaposition of views, ideas, and amassed experience, with a view to removing the rooted prejudices, to overcoming the division among workers and the establishment of cooperation.



Imperialist reaction, attempting to arouse distrust toward the communist movement and its ideology, continues to frighten nations by asserting that communists allegedly need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and to establish socialist order. The communist parties decisively reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, unleashed by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions in no way means that the road to social revolution necessarily passes through world war, particularly in our age, when a mighty world system of socialism exists. Marxist-Leninists have never considered that the road to social revolution passes through wars between states.

✓ The choice of this or that social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not imported and cannot be imposed from without. It is an outcome of the internal development of every country, of the extreme exacerbation of social contradictions.

✓ The communist parties, guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrines, have always been against the exporting of revolution. At the same time, they decisively struggle against imperialist export of counterrevolution. They consider it their international duty to call on the peoples of all countries to close their ranks, to mobilize all their internal forces, to work actively, and, relying on the aid of the world socialist system, to avert or give a decisive rebuff to interference of imperialists in the affairs of the people of any country who have risen in revolution.

Marxist-Leninist parties head the struggle of the working class and the toiling masses for implementation of a socialist revolution and for establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and ways of development of socialist revolution will depend upon the concrete relationship of class forces in one country or another, on the level of organization and the maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the degree of resistance of the ruling classes. Independent of the forms in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always mean the extension of democracy, the transition from formal bourgeois democracy to true democracy, democracy for the working people.

✓ The communist parties, reaffirm the tenets of the 1957 declaration on the forms of the transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism. The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, seek to carry out the socialist revolution by peaceful means. Implementation of this would correspond to the interests of the working class and of all people, to the overall national interests of the country.

In present conditions, in a number of capitalist countries the working class, led by its advance party, has the opportunity of uniting--on the basis of the workers and peoples front and other possible forms of agreement and political cooperation between different parties and public organizations--the majority of the people, of winning power without civil war, and of insuring the transition of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people, and giving a decisive rebuff to opportunist elements incapable of renouncing the policy of conciliation toward capitalists and landowners, the working class has the chance to inflict a defeat on reactionary, antipopular forces, to win a stable majority in parliament, to turn it from a weapon serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into a weapon serving the working people, to develop a broad mass struggle outside parliament, to break the resistance of reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for the peaceful implementation of the socialist revolution.

All this will only be possible by means of the broad, uninterrupted development of the class struggle of the working and peasant masses and the middle urban strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for deep social reform, for peace and socialism.

In conditions where the exploiting classes use violence against the people it is essential to keep another possibility in sight--the nonpeaceful transition to socialism. Leninism teaches, and historical experience confirms, that the ruling classes do not cede power voluntarily. The degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle in these conditions may depend not so much on the proletariat as on the strength of the resistance of the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on the use of violence by these circles at one or other stage of the struggle for socialism.

In each country the real possibility of one or the other method of transition to socialism is determined by concrete historical conditions. In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced teaching, but an actual social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, particularly favorable conditions are created for extending the influence of communist parties, for the resolute exposure of anticommunism, under whose flag the capitalist class is waging war on the proletariat, and for drawing to the side of communist ideals the widest possible strata of the workers. Anticommunism arose back in the dawn of the workers movement as the basic ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle with the proletariat and with Marxist ideology. With the exacerbation of the class struggle, especially with the formation of the world system of socialism, anticommunism became even more malicious and refined.

Reflecting the profound ideological crisis and the extreme degree of degradation of bourgeois ideology, anticommunism monstrously distorts Marxist teaching, crudely maligns the socialist social system, falsified the policy and purpose of communists, and beats down democratic, peace-loving forces and organizations.

The successful defense of the interests of the working people, the cause of the preservation of peace, and the implementation of the socialist ideals of the working class demand a resolute struggle against anticommunism, this poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie is using to fence off the masses from socialism. The work of explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses must be intensified in order to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, inculcate in them a class and revolutionary consciousness, and reveal for all workers, while citing the example of the experience of the countries of the world socialist system, the superiority of a socialist society and show them concretely the obvious benefits socialism will bring to workers, peasants, and other strata of the population of every country.

Communism insures for people freedom from the fear of war, lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, freedom from unemployment and poverty, general security and a high material standard of life, freedom from fear of economic crises, a rapid development of productive forces for the well-being of the whole society, freedom from the oppression of the individual by the moneybag, the all-round spiritual development of man, the development of all talents, and the boundless scientific and cultural progress of society. All strata of the population profit from the victory of the new social order, except a small group of exploiters. This must be brought to the attention of millions of peoples in countries of capitalism.

The world communist movement has become the most influential political force of our day; it has become the most important factor of social progress. In the fierce struggle with imperialist reaction, in the interests of the working class and all the working people, in the interests of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, the communist movement is moving steadily ahead, is consolidating and hardening. At present communist parties are active in 87 countries of the world. They unite in their ranks over 36 million people. This is a remarkable victory of Marxism-Leninism, a vast achievement of the working class.

The unification of Marxists, people with identical views, continues in countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke and taken the road of independent development. The communist parties deem it their international duty to contribute to strengthening the friendship and solidarity of the working class of their countries with the workers movement of the freed countries in the joint struggle against imperialism.

The increase in the rank and file of the communist parties and their organizational consolidation, the victory of communist parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, the overcoming of the harmful consequences of the individuality cult, and the increase in the influence of the international communist movement open up new prospects for the successful solution of the tasks facing the communist parties.

Marxist-Leninist parties consider the strict adherence to Leninist norms of party life on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism as the immutable law of their activity; they consider it necessary to guard as the apple of one's eye the unity of the party, to observe strictly the principle of party democracy and collective leadership, attaching, in accordance with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of leading party organs in the life of the party, to show constant solicitude for the strengthening of their links with members of the party and with the widest masses of the working people, to prevent the cult of the individual which shackles the development of creative thought and the initiative of communist, to develop in every way the activity of communists, to develop criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The communist parties have ideologically routed from their ranks the revisionists who attempted to lead them from the Marxist-Leninist path. In the struggle against revisionism, rightwing opportunism, a further ideological and organizational strengthening of the communist party and of the entire international communist movement took place. The communist parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, which is a concentrated expression of the theories of the contemporary revisionists.

Having betrayed Marxism-Leninism, declaring it obsolete, the leaders of the League of Yugoslav Communists have set up their own anti-Leninist revisionist program in opposition to the 1957 declaration; they have set up the League of Yugoslav Communists in opposition to the entire world communist movement; they have torn their country away from the socialist camp, making it dependent on the so-called aid from the United States and other imperialists, and have thereby created a danger that the revolutionary gains achieved by the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people will be lost.

The Yugoslav revisionists are carrying on subversion against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretence of the policy of nonadherence to any blocs (vne-blokovoy politiki), they are developing activity which harms the unity of all peace-loving forces and states.

A further unmasking of revisionists and an active struggle to shield the communist and workers movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists is still an indispensable task for the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The struggle of the working class, the entire course of social development, have been a new, brilliant confirmation of the great all-conquering force and viability of Marxism-Leninism and have decisively refuted all theories of the contemporary revisionists. The further development of the communist and workers movement will require in the future, as pointed out in the Moscow declaration of 1957, the continuation of a resolute struggle on two fronts--against revisionism, which is the chief danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Distorting Marxism-Leninism, depriving it of its revolutionary soul, revisionism, rightwing opportunism, reflects bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers and the masses in their struggle against oppression by the imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy, national liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism, in theory and in practice, if a consistent struggle is not carried on against them, can also become the main (glavnoy) danger to one or another stage of the development of individual parties. They deprive the revolutionary parties of the capacity to develop Marxism-Leninism on the basis of scientific analysis and to apply it creatively in accordance with concrete conditions; they isolate communists from the wide strata of the working people; They condemn them to passive temporizing (vyzhidaniye) and leftist adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle; do not permit correct evaluation of the changing situation and new experience in time to utilize all opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and all the democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and war danger; and they thereby hamper the peoples victory in their just struggle.

In conditions which find imperialist reaction uniting its forces for the struggle against communism it is particularly necessary to use every means to increase the cohesion of the world communist movement. Unity and cohesion raise the strength of our movement tenfold and constitute a reliable guarantee of the victorious progress of the great cause of communism and success in the repulsion of all enemy attacks. Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the joint struggle for its implementation. The interests of the communist movement demand that every communist party should display solidarity by observing assessments and conclusions, jointly worked out by fraternal parties at their conferences and dealing with common tasks of the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy, and socialism. The interests of the struggle for the cause of the working class demand ever greater cohesion among the ranks of every communist party and the great army of communists of all countries, their unity of will and action.

Concern for the constant consolidation of the unity of the international communist movement is the loftiest international duty of every Marxist-Leninist party. The resolute defense of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the disallowing of any actions which could undermine this unity, are absolute conditions of victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace, for the successful solution of tasks of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism. The violation of these principles would lead to a weakening of the forces of communism.

All Marxist-Leninist parties independently and equally work out a policy proceeding from the specific conditions of their countries, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and extend mutual support to each other. The success of the cause of the working class in each country demands international solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class and working peoples of its country, to the whole international workers and communist movement. When necessary, communist and workers parties hold conferences to discuss topical issues, to exchange experience, to gain firsthand knowledge of each other's views and positions, to work out single views by means of consultations and agreement on joint action in the struggle for common aims. When this or that party raises questions about the activity of another fraternal party, its leadership turns to the leadership of the party in question and, when necessary, meetings and consultations are held. The experience and outcome of the meetings of representatives of communist parties held during the past few years, particularly the outcome of the two largest conferences of November 1957 and the present conference, show that, in present conditions, such conferences are an effective form of mutual exchange of views and experience and enrichment, through collective effort, of Marxist-Leninist theory and the working out of united positions in the struggle for common aims.

Communist and workers parties unanimously announce that the generally acknowledged vanguard of the world communist movement has been and will continue to be the CPSU, as the most experienced and tempered unit of the international communist movement.

The experience of the CPSU, accumulated in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in the construction of socialism, and in the implementation of the expanded construction of communism, is of fundamental (printsipialnyy) significance for the entire international communist movement. The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all communist parties in their struggle for peace and socialism and express the application of revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism in practice.

The historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress are not only of great significance for the CPSU, and for the communist construction in the USSR, but they also started a new stage in the world communist movement and contributed to its further development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The communist and workers parties are making their contribution to the cause of the development of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The mutual assistance and support in the relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties represent a practical application of the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism.

Under present conditions the questions of ideology acquire special significance. The successes of socialism are being opposed by the class of exploiters through more active ideological conditioning of the masses; they are trying to hold them in the spiritual captivity of the bourgeois ideology. The communists see their task in developing a decisive offensive on the ideological front, in striving for the liberation of the popular masses from the spiritual bondage of every type and form of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, and in spreading advanced ideas among the masses, insuring social progress, freedom-loving democratic ideas, and the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the vestiges of capitalism in the minds of the people remain for a long time even after the establishment of a socialist order. This makes it necessary to develop enormous and all-round party activities for the communist education of the masses, for enhancing Marxist-Leninist preparation and training of the party and state cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is the sole great revolutionary teaching, the leading star of the working class and the working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom, and a better life, for the creation of the most just society--communism. Its great creative transforming force lies in its unbreakable bonds with life and in the constant enrichment on the basis of an all-round analysis of its reality. (deystvielnost).

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism the great historic victories of the comity (sodurzhestvo) of the socialist countries, of the international communist, workers, and liberation movement, have been achieved, and it is only on its basis that it is possible to solve successfully all the tasks which face the communist and workers parties.

The participants of the conference see in the further cohesion of the communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, the most important condition (vazhneysheye usloviyey) for the unification of all forces of the working class, of the forces of democracy and progress, and the guarantee of new victories of the world communist and workers movement in its great struggle for a bright future for the whole of mankind, and for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

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