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THE WAY TO EUROPEAN SECURITY

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS' PARTIES HELD AT KARLOVY VARY,
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, APRIL 24-26, 1967

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE

**STATEMENT BY
CONFERENCE**

APPEAL ON VIETNAM

**RESOLUTION
ON GREECE**

**SPEECH BY
LEONID BREZHNEV**

Soviet
Booklet
Vol. 2 No. 5

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INTRODUCTION

THE conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which opened at Karlovy Vary in Czechoslovakia on April 24, ended on April 26 after successfully completing its work.

As well as the appeal on Vietnam and the resolution on Greece, adopted at the first session, the delegates attending the conference signed a statement which was agreed after extensive and general discussion. A communiqué was also issued.

Significant time

All these documents are published in this booklet, as is also the text of Leonid Brezhnev's speech.

At the conclusion of the general debate, Leonid Brezhnev, head of the CPSU delegation, said:

"Dear Comrades, the leaders of the fraternal parties have pointed out in their speeches that our conference has met at a significant time, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"For my part, I should like to say that we are trying to infuse our preparations for the anniversary festivities in the USSR with the spirit of internationalism, because the October Revolution and Lenin belong to all mankind.

"The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated not only under the banner of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist teachings and the cause of proletarian revolution in our country, but also under the banner of proletarian solidarity and the unity of all the revolutionary forces.

"On behalf of and on the instructions of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government, I should like to take this opportunity to invite all the fraternal parties represented here to send delegations to Moscow for the celebration of the golden jubilee of the October Revolution.

Great holiday

"Our party and the Soviet people will be grateful to you, comrades, if you will join us in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, which is a great holiday for our state, for our party and for our people."

The final speech of the conference was made by Luigi Longo, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, who was in the chair, and the conference ended with the singing of the *Internationale*.

TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE

THE Conference was attended by delegations of the following fraternal parties: the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, the Communist Party of Greece, the Danish Communist Party, the Irish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Spanish Communist Party, the Italian Communist Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Luxembourg Communist Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Communist Party of San Marino, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Finnish Communist Party, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Swiss Party of Labour. The conference was also attended by a representative of the Communist Party of Sweden.

Broad discussion

European problems and the steps necessary to safeguard security in Europe, which is of great importance for the strengthening of world peace, were examined as a result of free and broad discussion and fraternal co-operation in a spirit of internationalism, which distinguished both the preparatory work and the conference itself.

The conference adopted a statement emphasising the danger created by the plotting between American imperialism and West German militarism and also the significance of specific initiatives in favour of peace arising out of the situation in Europe.

The programme of action contained in the statement opens up to the peoples a realistic prospect of peace, proposing that antagonistic military blocs be replaced by a system of collective European security, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The statement supports the idea of convening a conference of all European states with the object of studying problems of security and the development of European co-operation as well as other initiatives in this direction.

It was with a feeling of high responsibility that the conference addressed the working class, the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties, trade union organisations, believers of all creeds, intellectuals, the rising generation, women and all peace forces.

The conference urged them to unite and unfold in every country and on every continent broad campaigns and mass actions, aimed at safeguarding collective security in Europe, at ending the ruinous arms race and defeating the forces of war.

Those taking part in the conference are convinced that the programme of struggle for collective European security which was drawn up in Karlovy Vary can provide the basis for joint actions by all the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

The conference adopted an appeal calling for the rallying of forces and the extended development of the struggle in support of the Vietnamese people. It condemns the barbarous United States aggression, emphasising that this aggression constitutes a danger to universal peace.

The conference calls on all people who cherish the freedom of nations to step up joint actions to secure an end to the American intervention and to ensure for the heroic Vietnamese people the right to independence.

The conference also adopted a statement condemning the military *coup d'état* in Greece. It called for the organisation of a broad movement of solidarity with the Greek people.

Those taking part in the conference in Karlovy Vary are convinced that their meeting has helped to strengthen fraternal ties among the Communist and Workers' Parties and to rally the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in Europe and throughout the world.

CONFERENCE STATEMENT

WE, representatives of European Communist and Workers' Parties who have gathered in Karlovy Vary, realise our responsibility for the future of our peoples and the cause of the international working class and believe that the preservation of peace is the most important question for all the peoples of our continent.

We have met to discuss the present situation, to exchange experiences and jointly to work out ways and means of helping to unite all the forces of peace and progress in the struggle for European security.

1

The experience of the last few years has borne out the correctness of the communists' thesis that world war is not inevitable and that it can be averted by the joint efforts of the world socialist community, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the states opposed to war and all the peace forces.

These forces have grown considerably, but the aggressiveness of American imperialism has also increased.

The United States, the main force of aggression and reaction, is trying to reverse the march of history and abolish the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny.

Gross interference

It is grossly interfering in the domestic affairs of the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa and is extending its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, a war which represents the most serious danger to world peace today.

In this situation the struggle against the imperialist forces is taking on special significance in Europe.

Every success in this struggle means not only a step towards a stable peace in this part of the world, but also a new blow at the policy of strength and the system of inter-connected aggressive military pacts with which imperialism has girdled the whole globe.

Europe, which has lived through two world wars, remains a troubled region where the main forces of the imperialist camp and the socialist community confront each other.

An armed conflict between them would threaten to grow into a total nuclear war.

This danger is hanging over the entire life of the European peoples, it retards social and economic progress, vitiates international relations and involves tremendous loss of material means as a result of the arms race.

Military intervention by certain European states to suppress the national liberation movements also creates hotbeds of tension and imperils peace.

After the Second World War the imperialist nations, headed by the United

States, concluded the North Atlantic Pact, which was spearheaded against the socialist states and also against the democratic movements in the capitalist countries. This brought about the division of Europe into opposing military blocs.

Having remilitarised the Federal Republic of Germany and supported its unlawful claims to represent the whole of Germany, the imperialists assigned to it the role of an advanced anti-communist bastion, which became a seat of tension and which threatens peace and security in Europe as a whole.

The Bonn state, where revenge-seeking and militarist forces have come to power, has turned into the mainstay of United States global strategy in Europe.

Military preparations

The growing strength of the Bundeswehr, which is commanded by former Hitlerite officers, testifies to the increasing scale of the military preparations.

The activities of the Communist Party of Germany have been banned in the Federal Republic of Germany, while other democratic and peace-loving organisations are being subjected to persecution.

At the same time broad scope is being given to the activities of the extreme reactionary and neo-fascist forces. Their growing influence deeply alarms European public opinion, which has learned by painful experience that fascism is always accompanied by aggressive militarism.

The cold war has become for the monopolies of all the European capitalist states an instrument of waging an offensive against democracy and a tool for exerting pressure on the working people with a view to suppressing their struggle for better living conditions, for restricting their social gains and as a means of shifting the growing burden of armaments on to the masses of people.

The cold war concepts, the myth of the threat of "communist aggression", used by the United States to justify its hegemony in Europe, have failed.

The aggressive course of imperialism has been undermined by the active foreign policy of the socialist states, which are consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, a policy which is being carried through on an ever greater scale, especially since the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

This course has also been undermined by the struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the actions of the masses and the activity of broad sections of West European people.

The joint defensive might of the socialist states, which relies, above all, on the technical and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, constitutes an obstacle in the path of war.

The Atlantic bloc has entered a stage of open crisis. The ruling circles of some Western countries are challenging the value and expediency of the policy of military alliance with the United States or participation in the NATO joint armed forces, which threaten to draw their states into war and have nothing in common with their national interests.

Tendencies towards emancipation from political and military trusteeship by the United States are growing in the European capitalist countries.

At the same time anxiety is growing over the intensifying penetration by American capital.

The contradictions have also been aggravated between the national interests of West European states and the expansionist aims of the Federal Republic of Germany and its desire to occupy the dominating position in NATO, the "Common Market" and Euratom.

The German Democratic Republic, which has carried out the Potsdam Agreements, has strengthened its sovereignty as a state and its international prestige.

Its growing strength and constructive peace policy raise a barrier to the plans of West German imperialism.

Recognition of the GDR and the defence of its sovereign rights have become one of the main tasks in the struggle for European security.

Cold war crisis

The existence and development of a peaceable socialist German state has important implications, not only for the peaceful German socialist state, not only for the German people, but also for peace throughout Europe.

The crisis of the cold war policy has opened up new opportunities for the democratic and progressive forces which exist in West Germany, forces that sincerely demand radical foreign policy changes and which deserve every kind of support.

The change of the Bonn government was brought about precisely by this crisis.

However, there are no signs that the new government of the so-called "great coalition" has abandoned the imperialist goals of its predecessors.

On the contrary, despite assurances of peaceful designs, it upholds the claim to represent the whole of Germany and continues to strive to swallow up the GDR and to restore Germany to the 1937 frontiers, refuses to recognise the unlawfulness of the Munich *diktat*, continues to advance provocative claims to West Berlin and is striving to get access to nuclear arms.

Serious changes are now taking place in public opinion. Awareness of fruitlessness and danger of the imperialist policy of splitting Europe is constantly growing.

Ties of co-operation, and specifically in the economic and cultural fields, are developing between countries with different social systems.

In the course of establishing relations, representatives of governmental and public circles of socialist and capitalist countries are carrying out useful exchanges of views on problems of European security.

Constructive proposals

The constructive proposals for the strengthening of security and peaceful co-operation in Europe, set out by the socialist countries in the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states, and the proposals put forward by the Communist Parties of capitalist countries at their meetings and in their decisions provide a realistic basis for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

New and positive trends towards an international *détente* and co-operation with communists are appearing in the socialist and the social democratic movements in some West European countries.

New trends are emerging in Christian circles as regards the problems of progress and peace. New possibilities have arisen for contacts and co-operation between various trade union and other democratic organisations.

Co-operation between communists and socialists and believers on the issue of European security can promote the cause of peace on our continent.

The peoples of Europe do not want another war! They neither want a cold war nor a "balance of fear" which leads to a still more intense arms race and increases the risk of a deliberate or accidental conflict.

It is high time to achieve the establishment of new relations in Europe, relations based on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual confidence.

We communists, acting in different national conditions, will stint no effort to build a system of collective security, to establish such relations between states which would preclude any possibility of aggression and ensure an enduring peace in Europe and throughout the world. This is a difficult, but feasible task.

2

The European Communist and Workers' Parties are submitting, for the consideration of public opinion and of all the political and public forces concerned, a programme of activities in the interests of creating a system of collective security, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

This requires, primarily, that all states should recognise the actually existing situation as it has developed in Europe in the post-war period. This means:

Recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, particularly on the Oder and the Neisse, and also of the borders between the two German states;

Recognition of the existence of two sovereign and equal German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which requires that the latter abandon its claim to represent the whole of Germany;

Exclusion of any opportunity for the Federal Republic of Germany to gain access to nuclear arms in any form, either European, multilateral or Atlantic;

Recognition that the Munich Treaty has been invalid since the moment of its conclusion.

The working-class movement and all the peace and democratic forces of Europe now face the task of ensuring the development of peaceful relations and co-operation among all European states on the basis of respect for their sovereignty and equality.

With these aims in view it is necessary to fight for the realisation of a number of aims which can be achieved in the new situation, namely:

The conclusion by all European states of a treaty renouncing the use of force or the threat of force in their relations and renouncing interference in internal affairs, a treaty guaranteeing that all disputes shall be solved by peaceful means only, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter.

The normalisation of relations between all states and the German Democratic Republic, as well as between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin as a separate political entity;

The consistent defence and development of democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany—the right to demand this is given to the peoples by law, historical experience and post-war international agreements. This envisages universal support for the struggle of the progressive forces in the FRG for the banning of neo-Nazi organisations and all revenge-seeking propaganda, the annulment of the emergency legislation, freedom of activity for the democratic and peace-loving forces and the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party of Germany;

The conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty as an important step towards the stopping of the arms race.

The system of European security must include the recognition of the principle of neutrality and unconditional respect for the inviolability of neutral states.

A more active peace-loving policy on the part of these countries and their contribution to the cause of disarmament would help to establish such a system.

The elimination of artificially created barriers in economic relations between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe would be of particular importance for all states and would be conducive to the establishment of fruitful co-operation, including broad agreements in the sphere of production and scientific research.

Striving to open the way to European security and co-operation, we come out resolutely for the conclusion of agreements on partial solutions, above all in the sphere of disarmament, which would create a favourable climate for more far-reaching treaties.

All proposals in this field, advanced by governments, parties, public organisations, political leaders and scientists, deserve thorough examination.

Particularly topical among these proposals are those which deal with the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of European states, the abolition of foreign military bases, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Central Europe, the Balkans, the territory of the Danubian countries, in the Mediterranean and in Northern Europe, and also zones of thinned-out or frozen armaments, and, in general, zones of peace and co-operation in various regions of the continent.

These, like other steps, would check the trend towards the intensification of the arms race.

The 20-year period of the validity of the Atlantic Pact expires in 1969, and this presents a clear alternative: a Europe without military blocs. This alternative must be put on the agenda with all earnestness.

No effort should be spared in order to develop a broad-scale movement of the peace-loving forces of our continent against the extension or any modification of the Atlantic Pact.

This movement is favoured by the constructive attitude of the Warsaw Treaty member-nations who have repeatedly stated, and solemnly confirmed in the Bucharest Declaration, their readiness for the simultaneous disbanding of both military alliances.

We second the moves of these states regarding an immediate agreement on the abolition of the military organisations of the Atlantic Pact and the Warsaw Treaty.

We express our readiness to support any initiatives or proposals pursuing the purpose of achieving a *détente* and strengthening the security of the peoples of our continent.

We fully support the proposals for calling a conference of all European states on the question of security and peaceful co-operation in Europe. The proposal for calling a conference of representatives of all the European parliaments also deserves support.

New prospects

The consolidation of security and peace will open up new prospects for progress and prosperity before the peoples of our continent.

The peoples of Europe are faced with important social, economic and cultural problems.

A Europe, rid of the arms race, which consumes tremendous economic resources and the fruits of the labour of workers, engineers and scientists, will be able not only to ensure higher living standards for its population, but also to make a valuable contribution to the development of all mankind.

The struggle for this Europe is closely associated with the struggle for

genuine national independence and democracy and against reactionary and fascist dictatorships such as exist in Spain, Portugal and Greece.

The fact that the governments of Spain, Portugal and Greece assist American imperialism in building atomic bases in exchange for U.S. support for those discredited regimes shows what a great danger they are to Europe.

The European Communist and Workers' Parties express their complete solidarity with and provide support for the important struggle that is now being waged by the united front of workers and the democratic forces in Spain and to all the peoples fighting against reactionary regimes and for freedom and democracy.

Communists, who have always fought against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will strengthen their solidarity with the peoples who are still fighting for national liberation.

They will work for the development of new relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, relations based on the principles of respect for national independence, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs and mutually profitable economic co-operation and effective aid by the industrially highly-developed countries to the countries which have only recently become free and are now following the road of social, economic and cultural progress.

3

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe are ready to devote all their forces to the realisation of these tasks, serving the cause of peace, progress and democracy.

Our movement, which this year marks the 50th anniversary of its great victory—the Great October Socialist Revolution—has become a mighty political force, exerting a decisive influence on the development of all of mankind.

Every Communist Party, in the specific conditions in which it carries on the struggle, bears responsibility for its policy to the working class and the working people of its country and to the people in general.

At the same time every party is aware of its international responsibility for the safeguarding of peace and for the formation of new international relations which conform to the needs of our epoch.

This sense of responsibility requires of us, European Communist Parties, the pooling of our efforts for the solution of these problems.

The stronger the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe and all over the world, the more effective our struggle shall be.

This sense of responsibility obliges us to address, primarily, all the working class, which is the main producer of material values, the most conscientious and progressive class in modern society.

We also address the closest ally of the working class, the peasantry, and also the middle strata, which are vitally interested in peace and prosperity.

Decisive role

The workers and all working people of Europe, combining patriotism with international fraternal solidarity, are capable of playing a decisive role in the struggle for peace and European security, and for democracy and social progress on our continent.

We address the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties, which have a wide influence in the European working class and take part in the governments of a number of European countries.

The experience of decades has shown that joint actions by communists and socialists enable the working class to exert a decisive influence on political life and to rally around themselves sections of the public who are interested in the maintenance of peace and the implementation of democratic social changes.

We address the trade unions of Europe, which for the past 100 years have been the biggest mass organisation of the working class, defending its material and social interests. We call upon the trade union organisations to use their authority and influence in the struggle for a peaceful Europe.

We address scientists, writers, artists and all European intellectuals, whose finest representatives have always defended human rights, freedom and the independence of the peoples and have supported international co-operation and peace.

We address the Christian forces, Catholics and Protestants and believers of all religious denominations who motivate their striving for peace and social justice by religious convictions.

We address the younger generation of Europe, whose future is inseparably bound up with victory of the idea of collective security and peace. The place of youth is in the first ranks of the fighters against the policy of war, against reaction and fascism, for freedom and progress and friendship between peoples.

We address women, whose role in social life is increasing all the time and whose participation in the defence of peace and the security of mankind is so important.

We address the capitalist groups which show a realistic approach to modern reality, realise the danger of a nuclear war, wish to rid their countries of dependence on the United States and are ready to support the policy of European security.

We call upon all the peace-loving forces to rally and launch a broad campaign in their countries and on a continental scale to expand direct actions for collective security. We call for support in every possible way for the proposal to call a conference of European nations.

The communists of European countries are deeply convinced that by defending peace and security on their continent against the forces of aggression and war they are acting in the interests of democracy, social progress and national liberation and in the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

The present period of history requires courage and initiative. We address all people of goodwill, irrespective of their political convictions and party membership, nationality or religion, with an appeal to use all their influence and exert every effort to achieve our common goal—peace.

By overcoming all that divides us, we shall be able to create a mighty force, capable of triumphing over war and uncertainty in the future, and of paving the way to lasting peace and prosperity of the peoples.

The peoples of Europe themselves are capable of deciding the questions of peace and security on their continent. May they take the destinies of Europe into their own hands!

APPEAL ON VIETNAM

ON the orders of the United States government, half a million soldiers are killing Vietnamese men, women and children, thousands of kilometres from America, in an attempt to force to its knees a heroic nation which wants to live in peace and to build its motherland without foreign interference, and which is courageously fighting for its freedom and the eviction of the foreign invaders.

The fruit of the work of many generations is being ruthlessly destroyed.

The modern military equipment of the USA is reducing the towns and villages of North and South Vietnam to ashes and deserts.

The world has witnessed the escalation of an outrageous aggression. Human rights are being stamped out with unprecedented cruelty.

For more than 10 years the American imperialists have been systematically undermining the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and interfering in the internal affairs of that country.

The government of the United States bears grave responsibility for the war in Vietnam.

Their own way

Its refusal to accept the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the unconditional and complete cessation of air-raids and other military actions against the DRV, which would pave the way to negotiations, is open confirmation of its adventuristic desire to solve the Vietnamese problem by armed force, at any cost, and to effect the strengthening of U.S. military and political influence in South-East Asia.

American imperialism is striving to suppress the national-liberation movement and to deprive the peoples of their unquestionable right to determine their destiny for themselves and to choose their own way of development, one which meets their own aspirations.

It is precisely because of this that the war is still continuing today and daily becoming increasingly cruel for the Vietnamese people and an increasing threat to world peace.

The continuation of the war and the escalation of the aggression irrefutably expose the false and treacherous nature of the statements by the U.S. government about its readiness to conduct negotiations for a solution of the Vietnamese problem.

The representatives of the Vietnamese people, on the other hand, prove by their entire behaviour that the main concern for them and for all the Vietnamese people is to defend their country's freedom and independence and guarantee the security of its population.

The war which the USA is waging in Vietnam and its actions against Laos and Cambodia are the most cynical expression of American imperialism's aggressive policy, which conflicts with international law and international agreements and is an open violation of the essential rights of peoples to freedom and independence, as laid down in the United Nations Charter.

Strongly condemning American imperialism's war of aggression in Vietnam, we, participants of the Karlovy Vary conference, express our admiration for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and warmly greet their glorious sons and daughters.

By selflessly resisting the aggressors, the Vietnamese people are contributing to the cause of freedom of the peoples and to world peace.

We fully support the well-known proposals set out in the four points of the DRV government and the five points of the statement of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, believing that they fully meet the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and create a fair basis for the settlement of the Vietnamese question.

We express our resolute determination to contribute actively to the isolation and defeat of the aggressive policy of American imperialism and to strive for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and for the granting to the Vietnamese people of the right to solve their domestic affairs themselves.

The movement of assistance to Vietnam and protests against the U.S. aggression are mounting in Europe and in all the countries of the world, including the United States.

The political, economic and military support rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist nations is growing.

All anti-war forces

We declare that we are fully resolved to give ever-broader support to the heroic Vietnamese people, to their just struggle for freedom and independence through mass political campaigns, the collection of money and medicines, and through the dispatch of volunteers if they are asked for by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We call upon the working people and all the people of Europe, the political parties and particularly the Social Democratic, Socialist and Catholic Parties, on all believers and on all who cherish peace and freedom to increase the struggle for unconditional ending of the U.S. bombing of the DRV and other acts of aggression against the people of Vietnam.

We call on all the anti-war forces, regardless of their political and ideological convictions, to increase joint actions to end the U.S. war in Vietnam and in this way help to strengthen peaceful relations among the peoples and prevent the Vietnam conflict from developing into a new world war.

Let all democratic forces and all peoples of Europe unite their actions and step up the struggle in support of the heroic people of Vietnam!

STATEMENT ON COUP IN GREECE

WE, representatives of the European Communist and Workers' Parties attending the Karlovy Vary conference on questions of European security, indignantly condemn the military *coup* in Greece, carried out with the support of the militarist circles of the United States, the Royal Court and other right-wing extremist elements who feared they would suffer defeat in the forthcoming elections.

This *coup* is directed against the democratic rights and freedoms and the interests of the Greek people.

It is part and parcel of the reactionary intrigues which pursue the purpose of preventing the easing of international tension and the consolidation of European security and world peace.

The purpose of the plot is to strengthen the positions of American imperialism and its aggressive tool, the North Atlantic Pact, in this area of Europe, which at the same time also creates a new danger to the people of Cyprus.

We strongly protest against the terror unleashed by this régime; we protest against the arrest of democratic political leaders and Deputies and leaders of the democratic movement, against the mass repressions, against the banning of political parties, democratic organisations and the press and against the revival of fascism in Greece.

We express our sincere internationalist solidarity with and support for the Greek democrats.

We call for an immediate end to fascist terror and to the persecution of democrats. We demand the release of all those arrested and the immediate restoration of the Greek people's constitutional and democratic freedoms.

LEONID BREZHNEV'S SPEECH

as leader of the CPSU Delegation, April 24

DEAR Comrades, allow me to convey to those taking part in the conference fraternal greetings from the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the legion of Soviet communists. In you, we hail the communists, working class and working people of Europe and all those in Europe who struggle for peace and socialism.

Our party delegation is sincerely grateful to the central committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and central committee of the French Communist Party for their great and fruitful work, in preparing our conference.

CPSU support

We are deeply grateful to the central committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for its warm hospitality and the excellent conditions provided for the conference to work in.

Our conference has been convened on the initiative of the Vienna meeting of the Communist Parties of Western Europe.

The CPSU central committee supported this initiative from the very outset.

We fully agree with our comrades from the capitalist part of Europe that the combined effort of the socialist states with vigorous action by all lovers of peace in Western Europe is essential to resolve the problem of security in our continent.

In this connection, working-class activity is of special importance.

The security of Europe is not only the concern of governments. Of great importance for the solution of this problem is the role played by the broad masses, the working class and progressives who are indefatigably struggling for peace and against imperialism's aggressive forces and their policy of hatching another war.

That is why we agree with the view put forward here that the initiative shown by the Communist Parties represented at our conference can and must be highly significant for the joint action of all political forces advocating European security. This fully accords with the tasks of the Communist Parties and the role they play today in political affairs in Europe.

1. The world situation and the struggle for European security

Comrades, turning to the substance of the items on the conference agenda, we seek first of all to emphasise that our party regards consolidation of peace in Europe not at all as something isolated from the world-wide movement of peoples against imperialism, for peace, national independence and social progress.

Today, generally, it is out of the question to look at the situation in any one part of the world in isolation from the overall process of international development. The situation in Europe, therefore, is indissolubly bound up with the whole world situation.

At the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, the communists drew important conclusions on the basic trends of present-day world development. The period which has elapsed has shown that these conclusions were correct.

We are far from making a superficial assessment of the international situation, but we make so bold as to say that in the years since the Moscow meetings the detachments of the revolutionary movement have secured new positions and are continuing to advance—though perhaps not so fast as we would all like them to.

The world socialist revolution is a complex process marked by a stubborn struggle, and difficulties arise at some stages of it.

Important positive processes are taking place in the socialist system. The majority of the countries of socialism are carrying out deep-going transformations in the forms and methods of economic management, striving to make more effective use of the inherent opportunities of socialism and to master more fully the laws of socialist economic development.

The Communist Parties of the countries of socialism are devoting ever greater attention to perfecting socialist democracy and to the further development of the political activity of the masses, drawing them into the administration of all aspects of social life; intensive and interesting research is being conducted everywhere in this sphere.

All-round co-operation

The all-round economic, political and defence co-operation of the socialist states is being further developed and becoming ever more the rule. In many respects this co-operation is now being raised to a new and higher level.

It stands to reason when evaluating the situation in the world system of socialism that we cannot ignore such a serious fact in its development in recent years as the well-known position of the leadership of China and the breaking off of co-operation between the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China with other fraternal parties and socialist countries.

Discussion of this problem is not on the agenda of our conference, but the problem itself, nevertheless, exists and has a negative influence on the communist and entire liberation movement.

The national liberation movement continues to expand and deepen further. In the 1960s the Algerian revolution has gained a victory. The positions of the democratic forces in the United Arab Republic have been consolidated. Syria has taken the road of social advance.

In a number of the countries of the third world, the foundation has been laid for progressive social-economic development. However, this road does not exclude sharp conflicts as is shown, in particular, by the events in Ghana and in Indonesia.

Naturally, since the former colonies and semi-colonies received state independence, reactionary elements within them, basing themselves on the support of imperialists from without, have striven to push these states on to the road of capitalist development and of co-operation with the forces of international reaction.

Because of this, the forces of progress, and, in the first place, the communists, are called upon to work with greater persistence and flexibility.

Important changes

The wave of revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism and local reaction is extending further and further in the Latin American countries.

Important changes are taking place in the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries.

As a result of the energetic work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, as a result of the operation of the internal laws of capitalism, anti-monopoly feeling is growing in wide sections of the working people of these countries and an obvious leftward trend is to be seen among the masses of the people.

This creates new opportunities for the struggle for the unity of the working class and of all progressive forces and the struggle for socialism.

It stands to reason that the comrades from Western Europe who are present at this conference have a much better knowledge of all these processes and problems and therefore we will limit ourselves only to a general statement of these trends which are beginning to show.

The leaders of imperialism realise that their positions are weakening and see the strength of the revolutionary detachments opposing imperialism.

In recent years the leaders of the Western powers have exerted enormous efforts to improve their class tactics and strategy, both on the national and international plane in the new situation and are trying to find new ways and means of struggle against world socialism and the revolutionary and liberation movements.

To an ever greater degree, imperialism is counting on disunity among the socialist states and a split in the liberation movement.

The most sinister expression today of the predatory nature of imperialism and of its main force, American imperialism, is the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The American imperialists are waging a shameful war there which has no prospects.

They will never conquer the people who have been courageously fighting for their freedom and independence for more than 20 years.

The patriots of Vietnam, relying on a variety of forms of assistance from the socialist countries, and the support of the progressive forces of the whole world, are offering successful resistance to the interventionists, thus dealing tangible blows at the positions of American imperialism as a whole.

This is not only because some half million American soldiers, a big navy and no small part of the military aircraft of the USA have found themselves held in the region of South East Asia. It is also because the aggression in Vietnam entails a deep undermining of the prestige and the political positions of the USA throughout the world.

The aggression in Vietnam has set millions upon millions of people against the USA. It arouses hatred for the American interventionists in the minds of the peoples of Asia. This is a factor with which the leaders of the USA will have to deal for many years. The American dirty war in Vietnam has also increased the contradictions in the camp of the United States' allies, many of whom do not want to have anything to do with it.

Everybody knows that the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, are actively helping fighting Vietnam, rendering it political, economic and military support. It cannot be otherwise, because this is imperialist aggression against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

I can assure you, comrades, that we Soviet communists will continue to carry out our internationalist duty towards fighting Vietnam and will render it all necessary assistance.

Vital task

The war in Vietnam is the gravest danger to universal peace today. Tremendous masses of people of all classes, beliefs and convictions on all continents are demanding that the USA should stop the bombings of the DRV and stop its aggression in Vietnam.

This is particularly true of Europe, where the demonstrations against the American aggression are assuming an ever greater intensity. I think we all agree that this struggle is, at the same time, an important contribution to the cause of European security.

Finally, the events in Vietnam remind us again and again that the strengthening of the ranks of the international communist movement is a vital task today.

It is clear that if we could come out in co-ordinated defence of Vietnam, together with China, the task of putting an end to American aggression would have been much easier.

Allow me to repeat here what we already declared the other day at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: the CPSU central committee and the Soviet government are ready for unity of action with China in the planning and practical implementation of assistance to fighting Vietnam. We are ready for such unity of action on the broadest plane.

These, comrades, are certain international factors that we have to take stock of in discussing the problem of European security.

Appraising the present situation in Europe, we proceed, above all, from the changes that have taken place here since the Second World War.

One of the most important socio-political factors of the post-war period is that it is precisely in Europe, that is in the part of the world where capitalism was born and where it turned into a social system determining the entire course of world development over the centuries, that its positions have become weakened to a tremendous extent.

This found expression in the collapse of capitalism and the victory of socialist revolutions in eight countries of Eastern and Central Europe. This found expression in the fact that the bourgeoisie could retain its domination on the other part of the European territory only by relying, to a considerable degree, on military, political and economic aid from the USA.

Relying on American support, using the possibilities offered by the joint forces of the monopolies and the state and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, and resorting to manoeuvres in the field of social relations and political life, West European capitalism subsequently managed to emerge from the sharp crisis in which it found itself after the Second World War.

This, of course, by no means signifies the restoration of the former political might of European capitalism. Its essential weaknesses remain.

The new balance of socio-political forces on the continent have found expression in the foreign policy of the main capitalist countries of Europe.

The main detachments of European capitalism, the interests of which are often sharply contradictory, are trying in every way to avoid such methods and forms of competition that could threaten new upheavals in the capitalist world.

Having restored their economic potential, certain European countries are now trying to pursue an ever more independent policy. No small role in that is played by the increasing contradictions between the interests of the European and American magnates.

The pro-American political conceptions are gradually being replaced by conceptions that set the aim of turning capitalist Europe into a force independent of the USA and capable of playing an independent role in the world arena.

It is quite obvious for us communists that plans of this kind have the purpose of strengthening European capitalism and its international positions.

Another thing is obvious, too. These plans at the same time shatter the united front of world capital, and this opens up fresh possibilities for the European and international working-class movement and for unfolding

the struggle for peace and security in Europe and in the whole world.

Comrades, the draft statement which our conference is discussing says that the problem of European security is not simply a regional problem, is not an internal question for the European peoples, isolated from the rest of the world.

What is the basis for saying this? It is because we cannot forget that the flames of a world war flared up in Europe and that one of the gravest seats of international tension exists on this continent today, too.

Essential condition

A new war, once it started in Europe, might become a thermo-nuclear war and engulf the entire world. European security is an essential condition for averting a nuclear clash.

This is not the only aspect of the matter. To a certain extent the struggle for peace in Europe is curbing the aggressive forces of imperialism and preventing them from taking part in the suppression of the liberation movement in other parts of the world.

It is a fact, comrades, that despite its persistent efforts the United States has not succeeded in drawing its European NATO allies into the Vietnamese venture, as happened during the Korean war.

This is the result of the struggle of the Communist Parties, of the working class of the world and of all the peace forces.

To curb the forces of imperialism in Europe, to frustrate their aggressive plans, does not simply mean to narrow the radius of action of the aggressive policy of imperialism, though this is important in itself. It also means to inflict a defeat on this policy, which would be felt everywhere. This would be a real assistance to the liberation struggle of the peoples on all other continents.

Comrades, I think I shall express the general view if I say that by showing concern for the interests of European security we also are fulfilling our international duty to the peoples of the world.

2. American and West German imperialism—the main threat to peace in Europe

We may be asked: why do we put the question about the war danger in Europe so pointedly today? Is the threat so serious?

Yes, comrades, there are grounds for doing so. We do not want to exaggerate the danger of war, but we do not want to under-estimate it either.

Where and in what today do we see the threat to European security?

We answer: the aggressive forces of American and West German imperialism bring the threat to peace in Europe. What is the basis for the growing partnership of these forces?

For U.S. imperialism, collusion with the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany is the main means—convenient for the USA and in practice not so expensive—of preserving its military and strategical positions in Europe.

This provides the USA with powerful levers for pressure on the policy and the economy of West European countries.

As for the West German politicians, they calculate that partnership with the USA will furnish them with real possibilities for implementing their revenge-seeking schemes.

The aggressive policy of German imperialism has brought tremendous calamities to many European countries. This is well known not only to the Soviet peoples, but also to the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France, Britain, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark and other European states.

The Soviet people have not forgotten and will never forget that 20 million citizens of our country gave their lives for the sake of victory over fascism. We had to exert spectacular effort to heal the wounds of the war and to restore thousands of destroyed towns and villages.

The Soviet people who are now engaged in peaceful creative labour will not allow their gains and the gains of the other fraternal socialist states to be jeopardised again.

We recall the lessons of war today, not because we seek retribution for the past, but because we take care of the future.

The vital interests of all European peoples demand that aggression be excluded for ever on the part of German imperialism, whether undertaken on its own or in alliance with anybody else.

The principles of the post-war set-up in Europe were determined in the Potsdam Agreement. The main point in it was the demand that militarism and Nazism be uprooted, so that Germany should never again threaten her neighbours and peace all over the world. This demand is valid today, as well as for the future.

Nazism reviving

The Potsdam principles have been completely put into practice in the German Democratic Republic. They are ignored, however, in the Federal Republic of Germany, where German militarism is alive and where German Nazism is reviving. The fact that the bacillus of Nazism was not destroyed in Western Germany, as the Potsdam Agreement demanded, is not new to anybody; but now that the neo-Nazis have openly entered the political arena, things are taking a serious turn.

The danger becomes particularly great in view of the fact that the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany have turned revanchist demands into the foundation of their official state policy.

The absurd claims to speak on behalf of the whole German nation, the refusal to recognise the frontiers which have developed in Europe, the claims to West Berlin and the attempts to find loopholes for providing nuclear armaments for the FRG are being made not by some irresponsible bawlers and extremists from soldiers' unions or refugee organisations, but by the government of West Germany.

If you add to all this the fact that the authorities in Bonn have proscribed the Communist Party and are suppressing other progressive forces, you will see a whole set of political and ideological means of preparing for revenge.

The present FRG government is very eager to speak about its peaceful nature. The important thing, however, is that in doing so it tries to find all kinds of flexible formulas so as to avoid dropping its revanchist aims.

In this case, how can one believe in the sincerity of the peaceful statements coming from the FRG ruling circles?

It is clear enough that the new government wants to use this method merely to mislead European public opinion and to escape from isolation so as to ensure in this way stronger positions for the attainment of its goals.

The Soviet Union is far from considering that the European peoples should alienate themselves from Western Germany.

Like all other states, West Germany has before it the path of international co-operation based on equal rights and participation in European affairs.

We know that there are forces of no small order in the FRG which are coming out against the aggressive and reactionary policy of West German imperialism.

The miners of the Ruhr, the steel-workers of Stuttgart and the chemical workers of Mannheim have shown in class clashes that a movement against militarism and fascism is growing in West Germany itself.

The peace marches, in which many thousand people take part, and the protest meetings against the war in Vietnam indicate that the working people in Western Germany value peace as much as all other peoples do.

For our part, we have stated many times that the Soviet Union is not against an improvement of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. It is ready to do everything necessary for this.

If the present FRG government shows a sober approach to the situation which has developed in Europe, if it does not encroach upon the interests of other countries and peoples, if it shows by deeds its desire to strengthen peace on our continent, we shall be among those who will give support to such a course.

Threat of war

But, like all those who hold peace and the security of the peoples dear, we shall not agree to a compromise at the expense of peace and security of the nations.

The more the FRG leaders stick to their revanchist doctrines, the greater will be the rebuff of the Soviet Union and of all the European nations.

The facts show that the threat of war coming from German imperialism today is an indisputable reality.

During the past 10 years the FRG has formed one of the biggest armies in Western Europe, an army almost half-a-million strong and with an officer corps which makes it possible quickly to develop huge armed forces, as was done on the eve of the Second World War.

Naturally, the West German imperialists will not be able to realise their revanchist aims.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have sufficient military power to inflict a crushing blow against the aggressor if he dares to start a war.

However, the revanchists could bring the European countries, and with them the whole world, to the disaster of a new war. Such a danger should be clearly seen.

The military presence of the USA in Europe is a source of encouragement to West German militarism and helps to increase the threat to peace in Europe.

The hundreds of thousands of American soldiers in Europe, the U.S. bases there, the U.S. aircraft carriers and atomic submarines which ply the seas washing the continent, America's bombers, which fly in the skies of Europe carrying nuclear bombs—all this creates a real threat to the security of the peoples of Europe.

The main tool of America's policy in Europe has been and still is the NATO bloc.

This pact has been sustained from the very beginning on the basis of the artificially fabricated myth about the "threat of communist aggression", about the "threat from the East".

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the entire course of events in Europe and the world over have dispersed this myth.

Now everyone sees that the "hand of Moscow", which was used by imperialist propaganda to intimidate the peoples by means of calumny, has been firmly holding high the banner of peace, peaceful coexistence and friendship among the peoples.

Favourable conditions

More favourable conditions are now developing for creating a healthier situation in Europe, for the establishment of mutually profitable co-operation among the European states.

And this means that more favourable conditions have also developed for the activity of the Communist Parties and for uniting all the forces coming out for world peace and security in Europe. This is our common success, comrades.

In this situation the question arises with particular sharpness, before the peoples of the NATO countries and their governments: what is the purpose of the existence of this bloc and what is the price being paid for participation in it?

During the existence of NATO, the European member states of this bloc have spent more than 300,000 million dollars on war preparations. These expenditures hit hard at the interests of the working people, hold back economic development, and harm the progress of science and culture.

Taking advantage of the situation which has taken shape, the United States is draining many gifted scientists from Western Europe. This phenomenon has in a number of countries been aptly called the "brain drain".

We make no secret of the fact that the stepped-up military efforts of the NATO countries force the Soviet Union and other socialist states to increase their combat readiness and to channel considerable sums to defence needs.

The American overlordship over the policies, economic development and armed forces of a number of Western European countries, and the penetration of "Americanism" in all the pores of social, scientific and cultural life, are becoming increasingly intolerable to all who cherish national dignity and the interests of peace.

The Western European peoples do not want to reconcile themselves indefinitely to the fact that extensive parts of their land have been given over for the stationing of American expeditionary forces.

Even certain monopoly capitalist circles, which have gained the strength to compete with their overseas rivals, find the military, economic and political presence of the United States in Western Europe, which has dragged out for the third decade, becoming a burden.

To solve European problems without the interference of an overseas power, by the strength and wisdom of the Europeans themselves—this demand is winning ever more supporters everywhere in Europe.

Proposals for the so-called "modernisation" of NATO have been intensely advanced in the West these last few years.

Artificial arguments are being sought for saving at all costs the existence of this "holy alliance" of American and European reaction.

The matter has reached the point where it is alleged that NATO is capable

of playing a positive role in the development of East-West contacts. It is difficult to think up a more absurd argument than that!

It turns out, you see, that an organisation, specially set up to fight the socialist countries and which has thrust thousands of all kinds of bans and restrictions on the development of economic and trading ties with the socialist states on its members, is called upon to be an instrument of peaceful relations and co-operation between the East and West. Who will believe this?

Experience shows that the process of expansion of political, trading, economic and cultural ties between the European socialist and capitalist countries is proceeding faster where our Western partners regard national interests as of paramount importance and act precisely in defiance of the recommendations of the NATO Council, by-passing discriminatory measures introduced by the latter in relation to the socialist states.

In these conditions, comrades, the communists deem it their duty to propose such constructive measures to the peoples and governments of Europe which, from our standpoint, can lead to the removal of the danger of war, radically improve the situation on the European continent, and blaze the way to the development of broad, mutually-advantageous co-operation between states.

3. The way to European security

The present international situation presents tangible opportunities to carry out such measures. It is our conviction that we can and must have a Europe in which security for every state and nation should at the same time be security for all.

Our conviction that this is possible stems not only from an understanding of the inmost cherished aspirations of the European nations, but also from a realistic appraisal of the forces confronting the policy of war ventures and the preparation of aggression.

The cardinal factor in post-war Europe is the camp of socialist states. The power of their foreign policies derives from the fact that their fundamental aims coincide with the vital interests of the broadest masses of people in all the countries of our continent.

Bucharest programme

As will be remembered, at their Bucharest meeting the socialist states united in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation put forward a programme for security and peaceful co-operation in Europe. This programme is rallying increasing support in European and world public opinion.

In particular, the Warsaw Treaty countries put on the agenda the idea of convening an all-European conference of states to discuss the maintenance of security in Europe and all-European co-operation. This proposal has been favourably received by many states of Western Europe.

The kingpin of European security is the inviolability of the European frontiers established as the outcome of, and after, the Second World War.

Any attempt to re-carve these frontiers would cause the peoples untold suffering. This refers in full measure also to the frontiers of the Federal Republic of Germany to the east, west, north and south.

A cardinal requisite for European security is recognition of the hard fact that two Germanys with different social systems exist.

The shortsighted policy of "not recognising" the German Democratic Republic which, in effect, is in the interests only of the West German revan-

chists, is in implacable contradiction with European reality and presents a grave source of international tensions.

The German Democratic Republic has lived and prospered for nearly 20 years now. Both the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe regard every effort to help strengthen the GDR's international positions as a key plank in their policies.

In this age of nuclear weapons and rocketry, new problems germane to the maintenance of European security arise.

The European nations can well imagine what the appearance of nuclear weapons in the hands of a state advocating a revision of the European frontiers would mean.

The prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons, therefore, is not only a global issue but also, more specifically, a cardinal problem of European security.

The conclusion of an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is currently being negotiated.

The USSR and the other socialist countries are striving to make this work a success and have presented a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons for signature by all the states in the world.

Warsaw treaty

As we take stock of the prospects that developments in Europe hold out, we cannot overlook the fact that in two years from now the NATO governments will have to decide for or against the prolongation of the North Atlantic Treaty.

As we see it, the communists and all progressives are doing the perfectly correct thing in trying to take advantage of this situation in order to intensify still further their efforts against the retention of this aggressive bloc.

At the time, in order to guarantee their security, in response to the establishment of NATO, the socialist countries of Europe were compelled to set up their own Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

This organisation which is not only a military alliance but also a political association of some of the socialist states, has been discharging its role with success for many years now.

The aggressive hankerings of the West German imperialists and their American patrons oblige us to make the all-round consolidation of co-operation between the Warsaw Treaty countries our constant concern.

Nevertheless, the socialist countries have never stood for Europe's division into military blocs. We ourselves have proposed an alternative to this policy.

Those taking part in the Bucharest meeting declared once again that should the North Atlantic alliance expire, the Warsaw Treaty would become invalid, and that a system of European security should replace them.

New proposal

In view of the fact that the NATO governments are not yet ready to consent to such a radical solution, the Bucharest meeting participants put forward a new proposal to agree now on the dismantling of the military organisations of these groupings.

For a number of countries, including those in Northern Europe, neutrality could present an alternative to membership in military-political groupings.

The CPSU proceeds from the principle that quite a lot depends on the initiative taken by the neutral powers and on their good services in the consolidation of peace in Europe. The USSR would willingly go half way to meet initiatives to this end.

The bridging over of the division of the world and Europe into military blocs or alliances is part of the common world-wide movement of the peoples to reduce and completely end the arms race, to curb militarism and to cleanse the political atmosphere in Europe and the world generally.

Of no little importance, therefore, would be partial measures towards a military *détente* in Europe—from the establishment of nuclear-free zones in some parts of the continent to the dismantling of foreign military bases.

The constant presence of the U.S. Navy in the waters washing the shores of Southern Europe has no justification whatsoever.

Indeed, what grounds are there, 20 years after the end of the last war, for the U.S. Sixth Fleet patrolling the Mediterranean and having recourse to military bases, ports and fuelling stations in a number of Mediterranean countries?

Because all this represents a grave peril to the independence of all the coastal countries, the time has come for the removal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean to be loudly demanded.

Europe not only has U.S. military bases; it also has bases of another kind. These are the subversive, espionage and sabotage centres and radio stations and other organisations which the Americans have set up in the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries of Western Europe, which conduct a propaganda smear campaign against the socialist countries.

It is time to raise the issue of ending the work of all the poison beds in Europe which contaminate relations between nations.

The development of bilateral relations between the countries of our continent could present a key requisite for stronger European security. The current tendency towards reducing tension in Europe is largely the product of the improvement in bilateral relations between the states of Eastern and Western Europe.

So far as the USSR is concerned, our policy will continue to be to seek the promotion of mutually-advantageous relations with the capitalist countries of Europe on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and in the interests of lasting peace and international security.

The USSR is prepared to enter into an exchange of views on drafting bilateral agreements and treaties with European governments which, on their side, would like to develop relations with our country.

Co-operation

There is still one more important and promising trend in the efforts of the European nations and states which has a direct bearing on the accomplishment of the tasks of strengthening peace in Europe. I mean co-operation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres on both a bilateral and an all-European basis.

A start has already been made. But we regard this only as the beginning. The advancing scientific and technical revolution and the growing desire to consolidate national independence and to throw off dollar dictation are suggesting to the European states many ways and starting off points of a wide variety of fields, from the building of a trans-continental gas pipeline to the introduction of a common colour television system for the whole of Europe.

Interest is also being shown in many countries in the field of peaceful utilisation of atomic energy.

We are ready to reach an understanding with other European states on co-operation in conducting nuclear research and using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The realisation of this proposal will enable the states which have refused

to produce and acquire nuclear weapons to enjoy all the advantages which the peaceful energy of the split atom gives to mankind.

An important field for all-European co-operation is also joint work on such questions as the cleaning of the waters of the rivers of Europe and of the seas washing its shores, as well as joint efforts by states in the struggle against such diseases as cancer, cardio-vascular and other diseases.

Every one of the European nations has made its contribution to the treasures of world culture. Every European state has its history and its own national characteristics.

We communists are called upon to contribute our revolutionary energy also to the cause of the struggle for the preservation of the cultural heritage of the European peoples, for the further development of Europe as one of the main centres of world civilisation and historical and social progress.

4. The peoples are the decisive force in the struggle for security in Europe

Comrades, in the questions of war and peace, as in many other issues, the interests of the peoples of Western and Eastern Europe coincide.

The "dividing line" in this case runs not along geographical and not even along state frontiers between the social systems, but between the masses of people striving for security on their continent and lasting peace, on the one hand, and a narrow "war party", obtaining support from overseas forces alien to Europe, on the other.

There is not a single sensible argument against all the European peoples defending peace, joining their efforts and coming out in a united front for their vital interests.

The wider and the stronger this front, the quicker will the demons of war be bridled.

Naturally, our friends from the capitalist countries know better what actual measures should be taken to ensure joint actions on the different peace-loving forces in their countries. We, on our part, are ready to assist the solution of this important problem.

In this connection I would like to speak about the important question of the unity of the working class.

Europe is the cradle of the organised workers' movement. It was actually here in acute class struggles that its tradition of fighting against militarism and aggression and of championing peaceful relations among nations was forged.

The working class is now the greatest social force in Europe. It is at the helm of the state in the socialist countries. It has a mighty influence on the life of society in capitalist countries.

The working class is called upon to say its weighty word in the struggle for the strengthening of European security. And the greater the cohesion in its ranks, the more successful it will be in carrying out this mission.

The split in the workers' movement has not yet been overcome in Western Europe; coming out on behalf of the working class are not only the communists, the vanguard of the working class, but also the social democrats.

It has been said many times that unity of action by the communists and socialists could ensure a turning point in the whole political situation in Western Europe and create a serious obstacle to the forces of reaction and aggression.

This is why the CPSU attaches great value to the policy of the fraternal parties aimed at overcoming the split in the working class.

The yearning of the working masses for unity grows. Unfortunately, the leadership of many Socialist and Social Democratic Parties is still under the influence of anti-communist ideology, alien to the working class.

Some social democratic leaders have bound themselves so much to NATO's policy that they continue to stick to it when there is an obvious crisis in that military bloc.

An illustration of this is, first of all, the leadership of the Labour Party in Britain. Although it is now in power, it does not make the least use of the opportunities it has to thwart the aggressive policy of imperialism, but, on the contrary, promotes the pursuance of this policy.

The interests of peace in Europe, like the interests of the British people themselves, demand that the fetters of so-called Atlantic solidarity be shaken off at last so that the leadership of the Labour Party may show in deeds its desire to strengthen peace.

I cannot but say a word in this connection about the Social Democratic Party of Germany, whose leaders have, for many years, refused to pursue an independent course in questions of foreign policy, because they have been following in the trail of the Christian Democratic Union, which is a party of the German monopolies. There are now some representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the government, and they have wide opportunities for influencing West Germany's foreign policy line in favour of the cause of peace and the security of the nations.

Unfortunately, so far, there is no evidence that they have taken any serious steps in this direction.

Under the pressure of broad sections of the working class, the desire is growing in some European Socialist and Social Democratic Parties to do away with the last of the cold war and to take part in the search for constructive solutions in the sphere of the strengthening of the security in Europe.

New trends

We see these new trends, and they show that more favourable conditions are now developing for extending contacts with the social democratic movement for a joint struggle of the communists and social democrats against the division of Europe into military blocs and for peace and social progress.

The CPSU, on its part, is ready to develop contacts with those Social Democratic Parties which want to go along with us to promote the interests of the struggle against the aggressors and for peace and the security of the peoples of Europe.

We proceed from the premise that in the struggle for European security there is an opportunity for unity of action with other political forces in Europe.

Among these is the trade union movement of all trends, as well as the peasant parties and associations.

We know of the fruitful work of the fraternal parties aimed at establishing closer contacts with the working people belonging to different Christian parties and organisations.

We communists do not in the least regard ourselves as having a monopoly in working out a programme of actions for the peace forces of Europe.

The proposals which will be made by our conference will certainly serve as an important stimulus for discussion and will be a good contribution to creating a common platform for all those who want the establishment of peaceful relations in Europe to join forces.

The movements against the danger of war are growing now in Western Europe. They are represented by scores of organisations.

Some sections of European public opinion suggests that it would be feasible to call a conference of the peoples of Europe on the broadest possible foundation, a conference which would be devoted to discussion of the problems of the struggle for peace and security in Europe.

The holding of such a congress could well provide a new stimulus to the development of a mass movement for peace and security in Europe.

Dear comrades, the communists are coming out as active champions of unity of actions by all the democratic and peace-loving forces.

However, they can solve this problem successfully only if they themselves offer a model of unity of ideas and actions.

Our conference is the first meeting in history of the Communist Parties of both parts of Europe—the parties responsible for state guidance of society in the socialist countries, and the parties which are engaged, under the conditions of the capitalist states, in a selfless struggle for the cause of the working class.

The holding of this conference is convincing testimony to the growing trend towards the unity of the world communist movement and towards friendly joint actions by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

All our parties are united by a common Marxist-Leninist ideology and common ultimate goals.

We know that the fraternal parties have to work in different conditions and, therefore, have to use different tactics prompted by the concrete conditions of their work.

All this, however, does not prevent our parties from co-operating closely, working out co-ordinated positions and striving for unity of actions in the struggle for common goals.

And we are convinced that the solidarity of communists will grow stronger. In this respect our conference is the best answer to those bourgeois politicians who maintain that communists have repaired to their national quarters.

Our party is profoundly convinced that necessary conditions exist for achieving unity in our ranks by joint effort in a short period of time. We adhere unflinchingly to this point of view, doing everything we can to translate this idea into life, in close co-operation with other fraternal parties.

If we take a principled and energetic approach to the solution of this problem, an approach characteristic of Marxist-Leninists, it will be possible to overcome differences.

Of course this will call for effort and goodwill from all parties without exception. Our communist duty does not allow us to stay aloof, waiting for the day when unity comes of itself.

Joint action by the Communist and Workers' Parties today is an imperative demand, which meets the interests of the entire revolutionary movement.

The strength of every Communist Party and the effectiveness of the efforts of each national detachment of communists are determined not only by their prestige in their country, but also by their ability to work jointly with other units of the communist movement.

Socialism and communism are the historic goals of our movement.

We are convinced that the working class and the people of Western Europe will, sooner or later, take to the socialist road. The Communist Parties are selflessly working for precisely this, the only correct road, which guarantees the triumph of democracy and peace and the full development of the creative forces of every people.

Communists realise that this can only be the result of a class struggle, in the course of which the working class will become aware of its role in society and of its vital interests.

This is why the Communist Parties work indefatigably to strengthen, by their policies, the socialist, Marxist-Leninist guidance of the working-class movement, seeking to create purposefully favourable conditions for the victory of socialism.

If we look at the problems now under discussion from this point of view—and we consider that this point of view is the basic and decisive one for communists—we cannot but arrive at the following conclusion: the problem of European security is not only a foreign policy problem, but also a major social problem. In putting forward this thesis, our party leans on the practical experience accumulated in Europe during the post-war decades.

What does this experience teach us? In particular, that the “cold war” situation, the confrontation of military blocs and the atmosphere of war threats seriously obstructs the activity of the revolutionary, democratic forces.

When international tension exists, reactionary elements and warlords rear their heads in the bourgeois countries and anti-democratic tendencies and anti-communism become more intensive.

And conversely: the recent years have shown most clearly that when international tension is less, the needle of the political weatherglass swings left.

The definite changes in relations between communists and social democrats in some countries, the marked decline of anti-communist hysteria and the mounting influence of the West European Communist Parties are all most directly interrelated with the *détente* that has taken shape in Europe.

No conflict

Increasingly we see fresh confirmation of a vital concept of communist strategy. This is that the struggle for peace does not conflict with the struggle for socialism.

If the point that the effort for peace facilitates the struggle for socialism is axiomatic, then it is also axiomatic that the struggle against imperialism and reaction and for democracy and social progress represents a paramount condition for consolidating peace and international security.

Militarism and reaction are twins, and hence any amelioration of the climate in Europe cannot be separated from determined struggle against the fascist or semi-fascist régimes that still exist in a number of the capitalist countries of Europe.

From this rostrum we re-affirm our solidarity with the heroic struggle waged by the communists and democrats of Spain and Portugal.

As we see it, the struggle against the hounding of the democratic and peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, and, in the first place, for the repeal of the ban on the Communist Party of Germany, is an urgent task for the working-class movement in Europe.

On the very eve of our conference, we received the alarming news of the army *coup* in Greece. The reactionaries in that country are trying to set up a fascist dictatorship; thousands of the finest sons of the Greek people have been thrown in prison.

The exchange of views at our conference and the statement we shall adopt are required to play an important role in stepping up the struggle against the policy of imperialist aggression and for stronger European security and world peace.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the CPSU, to re-emphasise our support for that programme of action for European security that is set out in the draft statement of our conference.

We all realise that in order to carry it out we communists will have to do a great deal of work among the masses of the people.

We are in favour of a wide variety of forms of struggle against the danger of war; but all roads should lead to a lasting peace in Europe, and they will do so, provided the communists and all the progressives muster the masses to undertake determined action for European security.

Comrades, the Soviet people and their friends the world over will soon celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is appropriate, in this connection, to recall that on the very next day after the Winter Palace had been taken, the Congress of Soviets called on the nations and governments to end the war at once.

Lenin's Peace Decree contained a special appeal to the politically conscious workers of the leading states of Western Europe and expressed the conviction that, by their resolute, selfless and vigorous activity, the workers of Western Europe would help to bring the cause of peace to its natural conclusion and enable revolutionary Russia to complete the emancipation of the proletariat.

For half a century now, we have felt the fraternal solidarity and support of the international working class and the progressive and democratic forces of Europe and the entire world at our side.

The communists of the Soviet Union have always believed it to be their sacred duty—and continue to think it to be—in turn to do everything in their power to help the struggle waged by the working class and democratic forces of Europe and the other continents for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

We Soviet communists always regard the struggle for peace and social progress as the international cause of all the Communist Parties.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of Western Europe have covered a great and glorious road in their struggle for the working-class cause.

Our comrades from the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries have behind them many years of grim tribulations, of defeats and victories in class battles against the old world, against exploitation and oppression.

The vast wealth of experience of work among the masses that our comrades have acquired in movements for a united popular front, for resistance to fascism and Hitlerite aggression during the past war and also in the struggle they are currently carrying forward, represents a valuable gain for communists the world over.

Relying on this experience, both we communists who are in power and our comrades who are struggling for the victory of the socialist revolution, now here at this conference, may boldly say that we are quite capable of tackling the stupendous yet quite feasible task of rallying together the broad masses of the people in the struggle for peace and to hold down the forces of reaction and war.

Let us, therefore, strengthen solidarity and unity in the ranks of the communist movement, in the cause of accomplishing these great aims!